2 Trade in Amer. 25 k

SERIOUS AND IMPARTIAL

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE BLESSINGS OF

LIBERTY and *PEACE.*

ADDRESSED TO

PERSONS OF ALL *PARTIES.*

Inviting them alſo

To enter into that Grand ASSOCIATION, which is able to ſecure the Safety and Happineſs of the *BRITISH EMPIRE.*

By a CLERGYMAN in LEICESTERSHIRE.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by W. OLIVER, N° 12, Bartholomew-Cloſe;
Sold alſo by J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, N° 62,
St Paul's Churchyard; and
T. PAYNE and SON, at the Mews-Gate, Charing-croſs.

M DCC LXXVI.

[Price One Shilling and Sixpence.]

PREFACE.

AT a time when our quarrels and contentions are grown to that great height, as to diſturb the peace, and endanger the intereſt and ſafety of the whole Britiſh empire; All, who wiſh well to the good of their country, ſhould not only be deſirous to ſee a happy end put to our differences; but they ſhould alſo contribute, as much as lieth in their power, to promote this ſalutary purpoſe.

From this motive *only* I have ventured to offer to the Public the following Obſervations, and to mention ſome plans of reconciliation; which will not, I hope, prove unacceptable to the moderate and worthy perſons of all *parties*.

As an apology for myſelf in this attempt, I ſhall beg leave to obſerve; that as I am grown old in a country retirement, in order to make time paſs away the more agreeably, and uſefully, I have employed a good deal of it in making a few remarks on a variety of ſubjects, chiefly ſuch as more particularly engaged the public notice: from this Collection in my papers I have taken ſeveral parts of this Treatiſe, adding many things to make it the more uſeful or ſeaſonable at preſent. A great part of it is indeed calculated for general uſe at all times; as containing directions for promoting national happineſs.

As *civil Liberty* is a point, which has of late engaged the attention of the Public; and is indeed always to be looked upon as a matter of great importance; and as the diſputes about it are in a great meaſure the occaſion of our unfortunate wars; I thought it proper in the firſt place to make ſome more particular enquiries on this ſubject.

I have inſerted a few Obſervations in regard to *Elections*, which, though they do not relate to our preſent diſputes, yet are not, I hope, improper in a Treatiſe about *Liberty*.

As a powerful means of promoting and preſerving the bleſſings of *Liberty* and *Peace*, I have called in the help of religion; and as a Miniſter of the *Goſpel of Peace*, I ſhould indeed have neglected my proper office and duty, if I had not availed myſelf of that forceable argument; as I am addreſſing myſelf to thoſe, who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians.—And upon this account, we muſt be very deſirous, and alſo uſe our beſt endeavours to get as great a number as we can to enter into the *Grand Aſſociation* for promoting the intereſt of true religion; as it will be found the beſt and only means of ſecuring our *civil Liberty*; and advancing the happineſs and proſperity of a nation.

SERIOUS

SERIOUS AND IMPARTIAL

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

AS civil Liberty under due regulations is one of the moſt valuable bleſſings we enjoy in Society; and what indeed may be looked upon as the general right of mankind; to ſtand up therefore in its defence is undoubtedly a very laudable principle; eſpecially when it proceeds from integrity of heart; or a ſincere deſire of doing good to the public Community.

We may juſt take notice in the firſt place how much the bleſſing of Liberty was eſteemed by ſome of the wiſeſt amongſt the ancient Heathens; for inſtance, that eminent old Roman *Tully* was ſo great a friend to it, that he declares, "Nothing was more generally deſired than Liberty, "and that the people could not pay a ſufficient "regard to the memory of their Anceſtors, who "had ſecured this happineſs to them*."

Nay, he thought that death itſelf ſhould not be avoided for the ſake of preſerving, or reſtoring Liberty†: and we read the emperor *Nerva* was deified by the Romans for uniting *Liberty* with empire.

* Quid tam populare quam *libertas?* &c. CICER. orat. 16. de lege Agrariâ.

† Pro libertate vitæ periculo certandum eſt, &c. PHILIP. decim. orat. 52.

Our anceſtors, the ancient Britons, were, we find, poſſeſſed with the true ſpirit of Liberty; and when at laſt they were conquered by the Romans, yet they were ſo fortunate, as rather thereby to be brought into a ſtate of ſubjection, or obedience, than of ſlavery *; and it has been obſerved by ſome learned writers that many of their Sovereigns were allowed by the Romans to continue ſtill in poſſeſſion of their ancient thrones, and enjoy the full extent of their uſual authority; ſo that that they were conſidered as it were, the *Allies* of the Romans.

An Author in the *Memoirs*, which he has lately publiſhed of Great Britain, begins his book with obſerving; "That the Hiſtory of England "is the Hiſtory of *Liberty*;" and he takes notice of the influence which the ſpirit of Liberty (kept alive during a long revolution of ages) had upon the Conſtitution, the power, and above all upon the dignity of the national character of the Engliſh; and though they have been ſometimes in danger of loſing it; yet they were never eaſy, we find, till they had in a great meaſure reſtored it †.

In order to make us the more ſenſible of this valuable bleſſing we are ſpeaking about, it might not have been amiſs to ſet before the reader a brief account of ſome of the ſufferings and hardſhips thoſe people are liable to, and have indeed ſeverely felt, who live in arbitrary and tyrannical Governments; and, what is ſtill more to be lamented,

* Domiti ut pareant, nondum ut ſerviant—as TACITUS ſpeaks of them in the reign of TRAJAN — ſee his Life of AGRICOLA, cap. 13.

† See Memoirs of Great Britain, &c. by Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, quarto, vol. I. p. 1. publiſhed 1771.

lamented, even in nations where the Chriſtian religion is profeſſed and eſtabliſhed §.

I ſhall only here obſerve in general; how much more glorious it is for a Prince to govern a nation of free Subjects, than of Slaves; or for perſons in power to have obedience paid them out of love, and according to the direction of wiſe and good Laws, rather than from the dread of that puniſhment, which an arbitrary Prince may have in his power to inflict.

I ſhall beg leave to ſet down a few ſuitable remarks from *Tully* on this point.—He declares, that Governors ſhould make themſelves loved, and not feared; "Thus, whom men fear they "alſo hate, and wiſh for their deſtruction;" that no power or greatneſs can long bear up againſt public hate—that it may indeed be found neceſſary for thoſe, who by violence have enſlaved a nation to rule it with that kind of ſeverity, that Maſters ſhew to their Slaves; otherwiſe they could not keep them in ſubjection. "But for "thoſe, ſays he, who are Rulers in a free City to "behave themſelves in this manner is the height "of madneſs and folly: and that if perſons ſhould "be able by their power to ſet aſide the Laws "of their Country, or by terror deprive the peo-"ple of their juſt Liberty; yet will *Liberty*, by "being reſtrained, or overcome for a while, ge-"nerally manifeſt itſelf afterwards with more "ſtrength and vigour; as ſoon as there is an op-"portunity, and be avenged of the Tyrant or "Oppreſſor." He alſo obſerves, "that thoſe who "would have others afraid of them, muſt needs "be afraid of thoſe others in their turn;" and he gives us ſeveral inſtances of the fears and

§ I had drawn up ſome particular accounts of this nature, but muſt omit them for want of room.

terrors that ſome noted Tyrants conſtantly laboured under *.

As we are here ſpeaking about *Liberty*, as being the general right of mankind, it might not be improper to give an account of the ſtate of Slavery, as it prevailed formerly in the heathen world, and as it ſtill does in ſome Chriſtian countries.

The Greeks and Romans, though the great aſſerters of Liberty, were yet notoriouſly blameable themſelves with regard to their behaviour, or barbarous treatment of vaſt great numbers of perſons, whom they kept in bondage, or ſlavery; whoſe buſineſs it was to perform all kind of ſervile offices; they were commonly chained down in dungeons, or priſons built for that purpoſe; which, out of a natural love of liberty, they ſometimes broke looſe from; and became dangerous to the State. We read of one of their Chiefs, who ſoon became the Head of above forty thouſand, which he had ſet free from their places of confinement §.

The ſervants, or ſlaves, then in the heathen world, (who amounted to a very great number) were, we find, like the children of Iſrael in their Egyptian bondage, *in an evil caſe*, Exod. v. 9.— We may juſt obſerve, that it was perſons reduced to this wretched ſtate that St *Paul* had chiefly in view when he ſpeaks of *ſervants*; for inſtance, "Let as many, ſays he, as are under the "*yoke*, count their maſters worthy of due ho"nour; that the name of God, and his doc"trine, be not blaſphemed," 1 *Tim.* vi. 1. or ſpoken

* Vide TULL. de Officiis, lib. 2. cap. 7.

§ Vide L. FLOR. de geſtis Romanorum, lib. 3. cap. 19. de bello ſervili.

ſpoken evil of.—Again, "Art thou called (name-
" ly, to become a Chriſtian) being a *ſervant*, *care*
" *not for it*, (or endeavour to be content in thy ſer-
" vile ſtate) but if thou canſt be made *free*, *uſe*
" *it rather*," 1 Cor. vii. 21. And we find, that the charitable benefactions of the primitive Chriſtians, were, amongſt other good purpoſes, made uſe of for the redemption of *Slaves* *.

St *Peter* alſo upon this account admoniſhes ſervants to " be ſubject to their maſters with *all*
" *fear*, not to the good and gentle, but to the
" froward, (or thoſe, who uſed them ill) for
" what glory is it, ſays he, when ye are buffeted,
" or corrected for your faults, ye take it pati-
" ently? but if when ye do well, and ſuffer for
" it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with
" God," 1 *Pet.* ii. 18.

The apoſtle here refers to that ſevere uſage which ſervants or ſlaves often underwent, or thoſe ſtripes, inflicted on them for little or no offence †.

We find that an eminent Heathen, who lived in the times of the Apoſtles; and who was, as we have reaſon to ſuppoſe, no ſtranger to the doctrine of the goſpel, touched with a generous ſenſe of the great hardſhips that ſervants, or ſlaves, underwent in thoſe days, undertakes to plead their cauſe; having firſt mentioned the variety of their wretchedneſs and ſufferings from their *proud* and *imperious* maſters, as he calls them §.

As

* TERT. Apol. cap. 39.

† JUVENAL ſpeaking of their puniſhments, ſays, " Ru-
" bet ille *flagellis*," Sat. 6. lin. 480.

§ Nec tanquam hominibus quidem ſed tanquam *Jumentis* abutimur; in quos ſuperbiſſimi, et crudeliſſimi ſumus; in tormentis tacent, &c. See SENECA's epiſtles, the 47th.—See alſo the compaſſionate regard PLUTARCH had for them in his life of CATO.

As the deſign of the Goſpel was not to interfere at that time, when it was firſt preached, in the meaſures relating to civil policy, the Apoſtles therefore do not expreſsly condemn the prevailing cuſtom of *ſlavery*; but rather left the principles of the Chriſtian religion to operate in this reſpect by degrees; which undoubtedly in its own nature remarkably tends to work out ſlavery, cruelty, and oppreſſion of all kind.

In regard to the ſtate of ſervitude or ſlavery in our own nation, an eminent writer obſerves, "That ſince the time of the Norman conqueſt the "number of ſlaves continually decreaſed in Eng-"land; and by degrees all the remains of ancient "ſervitude were aboliſhed; nor is this, ſays our "author, a light difference in the comparative "excellency of our preſent Conſtitution above "our ancient; and even above our admired "governments of Greece and Rome;" for ſurely, as he juſtly obſerves, "whatever diſho-"nours human nature, diſhonours the policy "of a government, which permits it; a free "ſtate, which does not communicate the natural "rights of *Liberty* to all its ſubjects, who have "not deſerved by their crimes to loſe it, hardly "ſeems to be worthy of that honourable name*."

There is indeed ſtill a remarkable violation of human Liberty in ſeveral Chriſtian ſtates, which I cannot properly paſs by unnoticed.—I mean the *ſlave trade* carried on in the Weſtern world.—The Greeks and Romans of old, though they were zealous defenders of their own Liberties, yet, we find, acted directly contrary to their own principles in this reſpect; but it muſt be mentioned with grief, that ſeveral who call them-

* See Lord LITTLETON's Life of King HENRY the II. Oct. Edit. vol. 3. p. 195.

themſelves Chriſtians; and alſo, like the Romans, pretend to be great patrons of Liberty, ſhould yet ſhow themſelves to be the moſt cruel tyrants over great numbers of their fellow creatures; whom they have purchaſed from thoſe, who made them captives in war; treating them too generally not only contrary to the laws of Chriſtianity, but even to the dictates of common humanity; ſcarce looking upon them as reaſonable beings, buying and ſelling them as the ordinary cattle that till the ground.

Upon this account it was, that an eminent writer calls them, "So many petty tyrants over "human *freedom* †." "It caſts a ſad ſhade "upon the world, that ſo great a part of it are, "and have been ſo long, bound in chains of "darkneſs, and in chains of miſery §." Hence it has been obſerved, that no panegyrics in praiſe of *Liberty* can come gracefully from the mouths or *pens* of thoſe who make no ſcruple to detain others in *ſlavery*.

But to return from this digreſſion (which I hope will not be looked upon as improper or unſeaſonable) we have juſt obſerved before, that our own nation was always remarkable for its love of Liberty; yet we find, that it ſometimes fell under great oppreſſion; ſo that a view of its ſtate ſome ages ago in regard to Liberty might give us abundant reaſon to rejoice in the bleſſings we are now in poſſeſſion of.

But I ſhall proceed to conſider the nature of our Conſtitution, or eſtabliſhment, at preſent; when

† See Biſhop of GLOUCESTER's Sermon preached before the ſociety for propogating the goſpel, A. D. 1760.

§ See the late Mr STERN's letter to a Negro, in the 3d volume of his letters, publiſhed 1775. I had drawn up a more particular and full account of the ſtate of ancient and modern ſlavery, but have not room here to inſert it.

when things are changed infinitely for the better in regard to both civil and religious *Liberty*, than they were in former ages.

A judicious foreign writer in an enquiry concerning the beſt form of government, obſerves, " That the ſpecies of monarchy, limited by a " mixt government, unites the principal advan- " tage of abſolute monarchy and of the *ariſto-* " *cratic*, or *popular* government; and at the " ſame time avoids the inconveniences which " are peculiar to each; this is the happy tem- " perament we ſeek for; and England, as he " declares, is at preſent a proof of the goodneſs " of mixt government and temperate monar- " chies†."

We may apply alſo to our own civil Conſtitution the obſervation of a wiſe and judicious Hiſtorian amongſt the ancient Romans, who, ſpeaking of the ſeveral different modes of government, takes notice that no monarchy can contribute to the public good, or benefit of the people, unleſs it be founded on their voluntary conſent, and be ſupported without fear and terror, or any violent means; and that ſort of government, he ſays, is the beſt; or the moſt ſafe, and deſirable, which is conſtituted of ſeveral diſtinct parts; ſo well united and joined together, that each part may not only be a ſupport to, but alſo a check, or reſtraint upon the other, and hinder it from being too powerful, or from exceeding its proper bounds §.

The obſervations about Liberty, which a noble writer of our own made a few years ago when he was abroad, induced him to declare, " That " the Engliſh are a happy people; if they were " truly

† Burlamaq. *political Law*, Lond. 1754. ch. 8.

§ Vide Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 6.

" truly conſcious, or could in any degree " convince themſelves of their own felicity. " They are, ſays he, the *over and above fortunate*; " (*fortunati nimium*) let them travel abroad, not " to ſee faſhions, but *ſtates*, and the nature of " different governments,—they will then return " home perfectly convinced that England is " poſſeſſed of more *freedom*, juſtice, and happi- " neſs, than any other nation under heaven; " and with theſe advantages, he tells us, it will " be our own fault if we ſink into deſolation " and ruin*." He obſerves alſo that our Conſtitution is framed of the choiceſt parts taken from every other kind of government†. " Hap- " py and glorious country, as an ingenious tra- " veller declares, where *freedom* almoſt unknown " from the pole to the equator, holds her peace- " ful and gentle reign §." We may, or at leaſt a little while ago we *might*, have applied to ourſelves the words of ſcripture which deſcribe the happy ſtate of the Jewiſh people in the reign of King *Solomon*; namely, " Judah and Iſrael dwelt ſafely, every man under his own vine, and under his fig-tree, from Dan to Beer-ſheba," or in all parts of the kingdom, 1 *Kings* iv. 25.

How very unaccountable is it, that this ſhould not ſtill be the happy ſtate of the Britiſh empire—ſome private and dangerous enemy hath ſurely been buſy in diſturbing our peace; who either envyed our happineſs; or elſe propoſed ſome advantage from our diviſions and contentions.

It may be proper here to ſet down a few of the many public declarations, which our gracious

* See Lord ORRERY's Letters from Italy, 1754, &c. publiſhed in 1773, letter 19.

† Letter 18.

§ Mr WRAXALL's Tour in the North-parts of Europe, 1775. Letter 16.

cious Sovereign hath been pleased to make at several times in regard to the Liberties and happiness of his people.—Thus, for instance, he has assured us, that he hath no desire to extend his power and prerogative beyond its usual limits—or to abridge the people of any part of their just rights, that the welfare of all his subjects is his first object; "That he always considered "it as his duty to exert every power which the "constitution has entrusted him with for preserving it safe from violation of every kind; being "fully convinced, that in so doing he should "effectually provide for the true interest and "happiness of his people."—"That he *has* no "interest, that he *can* have none distinct from "that of his people."—"That he ever made "the law of the land the rule of his conduct, "esteeming it his chief glory to reign over a "*free* people."—"That he looked upon the security of our *Liberty* with pleasure; and as "the Basis of his Government; in defence of "which he should always think his honour and "interest to be particularly concerned."—"And "that he was persuaded, that the prosperity and "glory of his reign must depend on his possessing the affection, and maintaining the happiness of his people*," &c.

We might mention a great many more passages of the like nature.—I shall beg leave to add his Majesty's late gracious declaration, "That the constant employment of his thoughts, "and the most earnest wishes of his heart, tend "wholly

* See most of his Majesty's Speeches to the Parliament—I have here more particularly referred to that in *March*, 1768—in *May*, 1769—in *November*, 1770—in *June*, 1771—and to his answer to the address, remonstrances, &c. of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of the City of London, *March*, 1770—and *June* 12, 1771.

" wholly to the ſafety and happineſs of all his " people, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of order " and tranquillity through the ſeveral parts of " his dominions in a cloſe connection and con- " ſtitutional dependance *."

We may alſo remember with pleaſure his Majeſty's gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament at the beginning of his reign; wherein he declares, " That he gloried in the name of " *Briton*, and that the peculiar happineſs of his " life would ever conſiſt in promoting the wel- " fare of a people, whoſe loyalty and warm af- " fections to him he conſidered as the greateſt " and moſt permanent ſecurity of his throne; " and that the civil and religious rights of his " loving ſubjects were equally dear to him with " the moſt valuable prerogatives of his crown †."

And indeed at the beginning of his reign, he gave us a remarkable proof that he had no deſign to ſubvert any part of our Laws, but was deſirous that juſtice and equity might be eſtabliſhed amongſt us upon the beſt and ſureſt foundations, by that *Independency* freely granted to thoſe, whoſe office it was publicly to execute juſtice *between man and man*, Ezek. xviii. 8. or preſerve the truth and honour of our Laws; and be careful that the people ſhould enjoy the true benefit of them.

A judicious writer hath lately obſerved, " That " in our own nation it is where the natural " rights of mankind, which were forced to fly " from the face of tyranny, and the ſword of " *arbitrary* power, have ſheltered themſelves " from the ſtorm, and found refuge and pro- " tection; here it is, ſays he, that the ſcattered " remains

* See his Majeſty's Speech, *October* 26, 1775.

† Speech, *November* 18, 1760.

" remains of Roman and Gothic Liberty, caſt " out of the deſpotic ſtates of Europe, are unit- " ed, and made one venerable *body politic*, to " remain a monument to them of thoſe bleſſings " they have loſt; and a conſtant leſſon to us, to " teach us to be thankful for the happineſs we " enjoy under a virtuous Prince; who, by the " principles of the Revolution, is the declared " Patron of equal law, of juſt judgment, and " legal *Liberty* *."

As our gracious Sovereign then has declared himſelf ſo great a friend to *Liberty*; and eſteems it his chief glory to reign over a *free* people, and his peculiar happineſs to promote their welfare; it would therefore be very ſurprizing indeed, if any of his ſubjects, or thoſe in authority under him, ſhould at any time endeavour to bring in, or give encouragement to arbitrary power; and thereby prepare, as it were, chains for themſelves or their poſterity; or put a yoke upon the necks of the people, which they will not bear.

We have it in our power to be as happy and reſpectable a nation as any in Europe; ſo that according to the deſcription of one of our political writers (though he indeed makes great complaints about ſome public grievances) " There " is no ſtate of man greater upon earth than our " our own; that our country is an empire, which " has not its equal in the world, either in extent " of territory, in arts, or in arms, in trade, " wealth, and above all in *Liberty* †."

Give

* See Preface to a Book called, " An Enquiry into the " uſe and practice of Juries amongſt the Greeks and Ro- " mans. By JOHN PETTINGAL, D.D. *Lond.* 1769."

† See North Briton, Numb. 98. *April*, 1769.

Give me leave to obſerve farther, That by the ſurpriſing ſucceſs given to his Majeſty's fleets and armies in the beginning of his reign, this nation was advanced to a much higher pitch of power and grandeur, than it had ever enjoyed before; a ſubject we might dwell on with pleaſure; or recount the wonderful things God hath done for us in the *earth*, and in the *ſeas*, and *even to the ends of the world*, to make uſe of the words of the Pſalmiſt *.

An ingenious foreign writer, ſome years ago, ſpeaking of the Engliſh nation, (in which he had reſided for ſome years) obſerves, "That it ap-"peared to be at the ſame time warlike, trad-"ing, and philoſophical; it is, ſays he, Rome, "it is Carthage, it is Athens itſelf †."

Now as we are ſo happy as to live at a time when this nation is arrived perhaps at the ſummit of its grandeur, when all kind of arts and ſciences flouriſh in it; when it is one of the moſt reputable and powerful ſtates in Europe; viſited and admired by perſons of high rank and dignity; how much is the honour and intereſt of every one concerned, who belongs to this Empire, to preſerve the bleſſing, which we ſtill have indeed in our poſſeſſion, and prevent its ruin and decay?

One neceſſary means of doing this, we may juſt obſerve, is by a ſteady adherence to the practice of virtue and religion; or by what we may

* Pſalm cxxxv. 6. and lix. 13. See alſo VOLTAIRE's Age of LEWIS XV. when he alſo ſpeaks of the great acquiſitions of the Engliſh in the laſt War: and that in America they gained two thouſand leagues of ground. Vol. II. Chap. 35, 36.

† LE BLANC's Letters on the Engliſh and French nation, in two volumes. Letter I.

may call a *national* Aſſociation in this reſpect; or our joint endeavours to obtain the favour of God by obedience to his commandments.—This behaviour will add a durability, or continuance to the *riches*, power and happineſs of the nation;—ſo may we hope, "that its *proſperity* "ſhall not be removed; but that the people, "in ſucceſſion, ſhall praiſe God *for his goodneſs*, "(or the bleſſings they enjoy) *from generation to* "*generation.*" When a nation becomes good, as well as great, then it properly may be ſaid to be in a ſecure and flouriſhing ſtate; and we may fitly apply the words of king *David*, "Happy "are the people, who are in ſuch a caſe; yea, "bleſſed are the people who have the Lord for "their God *.

I could ſay a great deal more with pleaſure on this ſubject, and indeed it deſerves to be treated on at large upon account of its great importance; ſeeing religion is not only neceſſary for ſecuring our private felicity, but alſo for promoting the public good of ſociety, or the general happineſs of mankind. Hence we find, that all wiſe Legiſlators, and judicious Stateſmen, have adopted religion into their ſcheme of government, and given encouragement to the practice of it. It is the religion of the *heart* that I am here ſpeaking of, or the *power of godlineſs*, as well as the outward *form* of it; a religion that influences the mind, and keeps it firm and ſteady in all parts of duty; or in performance of *whatever things are true, whatever things are honeſt, juſt, lovely, and of good report.*—This is that genuine *Chriſtianity*, which tends ſo much to the glory of God, and good of man.

But

* Pſalm cxliv. 15.

But I muſt return to another ſubject of a melancholy nature; or conſider the danger we are in from our preſent Diviſions, or fierce Contentions. What folly and madneſs does it ſhew to *endanger* by this means the valuable bleſſings we enjoy, or that *Liberty* perhaps, which perſons are ſo deſirous of preſerving; to weaken ourſelves by deſtructive wars; and thereby give our common *enemy* occaſion to rejoice, and to take an advantage againſt us; and indeed to invite them, as it were, to do ſo?

I ſhall now proceed to point out a few of the various ſchemes propoſed by ſeveral writers for an accommodation with our Colonies;—as this was one principal deſign of offering this treatiſe to the Public.—And as a Moderator in our differences, I ſhall venture to offer ſome remarks of my own. It is indeed oftentimes the fate of Moderators in warm party diſputes to incur the diſpleaſure of both ſides; but we may hope to eſcape this misfortune in a great meaſure at preſent, ſeeing peace and reconciliation are ſo neceſſary for all parties concerned.

It has been objected by the Americans, and ſome of their friends in England, that whilſt our commerce with the Colonies is regulated ſo much for the preſent intereſts of Great Britain, and whilſt they are obliged to ſubmit to numerous reſtraints in trade; that in equity and ſound policy, the *Taxation* of the Colonies for the ordinary purpoſes of ſupply ought to be forborn; —that Britain ſhould be ſatisfied with the advantage it receives from a flouriſhing trade, and with the free grants of the American *Aſſemblies*; as being far more beneficial, more eaſily obtained, leſs oppreſſive, and more likely to be

laſting, than any revenue to be acquired by *parliamentary taxes*, accompanied by the loſs of affection of thoſe who pay them. "If you lay "taxes upon us, ſay they, give us a free trade, "ſuch as yourſelves enjoy, and we will chear- "fully pay them,"—and much more to the ſame purpoſe—"We are alſo put in mind, that the "Iriſh ſubmit to Parliament in *trade*, but they "in return are exempted from Taxation."

If indeed upon an impartial conſideration it appears, that we have much above our proportionable ſhare of advantage in trading with the Colonies, this ſhould induce the Britiſh Legiſlature to be more moderate in its demands about taxing the Inhabitants; but they alſo ought to be ſenſible, that this nation hath been at an immenſe expence in protecting, and freeing them from the power of their moſt dangerous enemies; ſo that we may upon this account, in juſtice, expect and require of them ſome ſuitable returns, according to their abilities, in order to leſſen a little the great burden of taxes that lieth upon us.

In the infancy or weak ſtate of the Colonies, they wanted conſtant aſſiſtance and protection from the mother country, and had little of their own to ſpare towards the public expence. But this is by no means the caſe now; as we are informed by ſeveral perſons, that they are in a rich and proſperous condition.—If they ſay that the Britiſh nation is ſtill able to bear the additional load of expence ſhe has been at of late in America, as well as ſhe has formerly, a judicious writer, well acquainted with this ſubject, tells them, that they are very much miſtaken; and

that

that we cannot well ſupport ourſelves under heavier taxations, were we ever ſo willing*, &c.

And here I muſt take notice, that it is indeed matter of ſurprize to find, that while ſome ſet before us an account of the riches of the Coloniſts, and their ability to pay the taxes laid upon them, in order to leſſen the weight of our Debts and Taxes; other writers (who pretend to have good authority for what they ſay) are of a quite contrary opinion—for inſtance, they aſſure us, "That the *Coloniſts* are not able to "pay the taxes we would lay upon them; that "it is not to be done without great injury to "themſelves and us in point of trade: that it "is wrong to levy money upon them, when "they have none to pay their debts; or even "purchaſe the neceſſaries they want from Bri-"tain †, &c."

How difficult a matter then is it for us to come at any certainty concerning the true ſtate of our Colonies? From this laſt account concerning the Colonies, if the facts be well founded, we may conclude, that they have not much money, that they can ſpare to ſpend in this preſent war; or for maintaining large armies; if they have, then they are not hindred from paying the taxes required, by *inability*, or poverty.

* See Four Tracts by Dr TUCKER, Dean of Glouceſter, publiſhed in 1774—particularly tract the 3d *paſſim*—to which I refer the reader, where he will find the ſeveral advantages conſidered, which the Americans have in trading with us—ſee alſo Tract IV. p. 196, &c. ſo that in moſt things they *could* not trade to greater advantage with any other European State.—Thus in order to promote their intereſt we are obliged to pay many bounties for the importation of their goods, &c.

† See a book called, The *preſent ſtate* of Great Britain and North America. Lond. Becket, 1767—particularly part the 3d, *paſſim*.

As the buſineſs of taxation, we find, is made the great and fundamental cauſe of our quarrels with the Coloniſts; ſome, who profeſs themſelves to be their advocates, have, in order to promote peace, obſerved to the following purpoſe, "That, as it was not practicable for the Colonies, conſidering their great diſtance, to ſend "*Repreſentatives* in parliament to Great Britain; "for this reaſon it might be expedient to aſſemble a diſtinct houſe of *Repreſentatives* in "America; not to act indeed in oppoſition to "the Britiſh Parliament, or be independent of "it, but under ſome proper regulations."—We are referred by others to the ſyſtem of Collonial government; which was ſo happily practiced at the end of the laſt war; "As this, they "ſay, avoids the deciſion of any claims and "queſtions, which have been the occaſion of "our preſent unfortunate controverſy.—That "this hath been the only requeſt, or demand "of the Coloniſts, from which they have never "varied; and that this would be a proper "means of reſtoring peace, affection, and commerce."

We are aſſured by ſome of their friends, "That all the Colonies require is to contribute "in the accuſtomed way by *Conſtitutional Requiſition*, to be put on the ſame footing they "were in the year 1763."—That this is the utmoſt of their claims and pretenſions; the ſole object of their petitions; and this is, we find, called the *Golden Bridge* of peace.—And it is obſerved, that the origin of our unhappy conteſts one with another was from the *novel manner* of taxation (as it is called) or leaving off the old accuſtomary way of *Requiſition*.

Some

Some have raiſed difficulties about the manner of our treating one with another in order to bring about a reconciliation. "If Britain, they "ſay, is allowed to have the power of regu- "lating thoſe points in diſpute, than the ſu- "premacy of its Legiſlature is confeſſed by the "Coloniſts, but if they both are to join in this "work, or treat on equal terms, the Ameri- "cans may then be looked upon as no longer in "a ſtate of Dependency on the Britiſh *Empire*." But ſurely this difficulty might be got over, or this nicety eaſily adjuſted, if both parties were inclined to peace and agreement; and we may juſt obſerve, that when things are unfortunately much out of order in a State, it may be prudent, or neceſſary to take ſuch ſteps in the proceſs, or methods of ſetting them right again, as would not have been perhaps made uſe of on ordinary occaſions.

The more likely way for the Coloniſts to meet with ſucceſs in this conteſt, and to have their Liberty ſecured, (a bleſſing which, we hope, is not intended to be taken from them) will be rather by way of addreſs, or petition to the legiſlative power of Great Britain, than by making an abſolute claim in ſome diſputable caſes, and endeavouring to get their demands by force, imagining that the oppreſſion, which they think themſelves under, will juſtify their open reſiſtance to Government *.

Let us now briefly point out a few propoſals offered by thoſe, who ſeem to be on the ſide of Adminiſtration: and write with a ſeeming deſire of promoting peace and unity. In a late piece called, "An Addreſs of the people of Great Britain

* See what is ſaid about *reſiſtence* below.

" to the inhabitants of *America*," the Coloniſts are there put in mind, that the charters, practice, ſtatutes, and every equitable conſideration warrant us to exerciſe the power of Taxation over the Americans; yet we only deſire to be ſecured, that they themſelves will make ſome proper proviſions for their own ſafety and defence; and that, if this is not done, it is their own fault. It is obſerved that from apparent evils real good has ſometimes ariſen; from our differences therefore it is the fault of us both if we do not derive future agreement; which is beſt to be aſſured by ſome great act of ſtate, which ſhall form a ſyſtem of common intereſt and happineſs; remove the probability of future differences; and that little punctilios are not to be regarded in ſo noble a caſe. That if the ſeveral great commercial, judicial, legiſlative, and military arraingements were agreed upon, we might leave the proviſion for them to yourſelves; or at leaſt be content with a ſtanding revenue, to be now aſcertained between your aſſemblies, and parliament.—This might be tried for a certain time, and then be altered if neceſſary—for though we give up, as is obſerved, " The odious privilege of *taxing* you, yet you " cannot be ignorant, that you muſt eſtabliſh " revenues (as all other Colonies do) to ſupport " your eſtabliſhments, &c."

And the claim of taxation is given up, (as ſome eminent perſons have lately declared publicly) on this ſuppoſition indeed—" That a re- " venue is expected from the Americans, to- " wards alleviating part of the burdens at pre- " ſent born by this Country; or ſome founda- " tion ſhould be laid, which ſhould keep a pro-

" portion

" portion to their abilities; or they are to have " a ſhare in the *burdens* in proportion, as they " ſhare the advantages of this government; " whether it be by taxes, or cuſtoms, commer- " cial duties, or by *Requiſition*.

Give me leave to add a few more things from an ingenious and candid writer; who has lately publiſhed his obſervations *on our middle ſettlements in North America*; which he had viſited not many years ago, and for the inhabitants of which he expreſſes his great eſteem. In regard to our preſent unfortunate contentions, he takes notice, " Let every Engliſhman, and every " American, but for a moment or two ſubſtitute " themſelves in each others place; and, I think, " ſome mode of reconciliation would ſoon take " effect; every *American* will then perceive the " reaſonableneſs of acknowledging the ſupre- " macy of the Britiſh Legiſlature: and every " Engliſhman perhaps be ſenſible of the *hard- " ſhip* of being *taxed*, where there is no *Repre- " ſentation*, or aſſent; or doubt whether this be " conſiſtent with the principles of Liberty."— He then, I think, properly obſerves, " It ap- " pears, that there are *certain principles* at pre- " ſent in the Britiſh conſtitution, which ſeem " to militate with each other; and the reaſon " of their doing ſo is evident; as it was never " ſuppoſed formerly, that they would extend " beyond the limits of Great Britain; or affect " ſo diſtant a Country as *America*; it is much " to be wiſhed then, ſays he, that ſome expedi- " ent could be thought of to reconcile them. " And though many excuſes may be found in " juſtification of both *parties*, yet, the feweſt, " he thinks, in favour of the Americans; for " they ſettled in America under charters, which

" expreſsly,

" expreſsly, as he obſerves, reſerved to the Bri-
" tiſh Parliament the authority now aſſerted;
" whether this was conſiſtent or not with Britiſh
" Liberty is another point, or queſtion." And though they had a right to make repreſentations to His Majeſty in Parliament, to ſhew the impropriety and inconvenience of inforcing ſuch principles, yet they had certainly no right to oppoſe, and violently to reſiſt them.—And expedients may ſtill be found out, it is to be hoped, to conciliate the preſent unhappy differences.—And he thinks " That it is the duty and
" intereſt of the Americans to ſubmit, or be
" diſpoſed to peaceable meaſures."—He alſo obſerves, " That it is a very fallacious notion, that
" America is ſometime or other to give laws to
" the reſt of the world: that it is indeed form-
" ed for *happineſs*, but not for *empire*;" and he gives ſeveral very plauſible reaſons from his own obſervations in that country in confirmation of his opinions, which I have not room to inſert †.

I cannot well omit mentioning another writer, who has been lately a favourite preacher in the Weſtern world, and who muſt be well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the people, for whom he alſo expreſſes his great regard, though he blames them for their preſent conduct—and in his *Calm Addreſs to the American Colonies*, he endeavours to convince them that they judge amiſs in declaring, that the Britiſh Parliament has no proper right to *tax* them. " An Engliſh Colo-
" ny, ſays he, is a number of perſons to whom
" the king grants a *Charter*, permitting them
" to

† See Travels through the Midland Settlements of North America, A. D. 1759. 1760, with Obſervations on our Colonies, by the Rev. Mr BURNABY, Vicar of *Greenwich* — publiſhed 1775.

" to ſettle in ſome diſtant Country, as a Cor-
" poration, enjoying ſuch power as the Charter
" grants. As a Corporation they make laws
" for themſelves, but ſtill they are under a high-
" er authority to which they continue ſubject.
" Hence the ſupreme power of England has a
" legal right of laying any tax upon them,
" for any end beneficial to the whole empire."

To their objections, " That it is the privilege
" of an Engliſhman to be taxed *only* by their
" own *conſent*, or by their Repreſentatives in
" parliament; but as they (the Americans)
" have none, they ought not to be taxed:"—our author replies, " Your argument proves *too*
" *much*; for if the Britiſh parliament cannot tax
" you, becauſe you have no Repreſentative
" therein; for the ſame reaſon it cannot make
" *laws* to bind you; this power over the Colo-
" nies you have never diſputed."

The Coloniſts are put in mind that they are deſcendants of men who either had no votes, or reſigned them by emigration; making thereby the exerciſe of this right no longer poſſible; and that by abandoning their right in one Legiſlation, they have not thereby acquired a right to conſtitute another;—that in the nature of ſubordinate government, all countries, which are ſubject to laws, are liable to taxes*, &c.

This writer has indeed met with *many* opponents, at which we cannot much wonder, as perſons are ſo much divided in their opinions about the ſubjects advanced; but what I muſt blame ſome of them for is that *illiberal* ungenerous manner in which they have treated him; for

* See Mr WESLEY's *Calm Addreſs, &c.* and his Letter directed to the Editor of the Gen. Even. poſt, *Nov.* 28, 1775, as an apology for himſelf; and a Treatiſe called *Taxation no Tyranny*.

for their perſonal reflections or abuſe, of which we might ſet down many inſtances: ſeeing this has nothing to do with the main point, and ſeems to be done to prejudice the readers againſt him, and thereby to induce them to diſregard his arguments.

When it is obſerved by ſome advocates for the Coloniſts, that it cannot be ſuppoſed, that when they left their country they meant to give up their right of diſpoſing of their own property, or of being taxed without their own conſent, as this is an eſſential part of Britiſh *Liberty*— it may alſo be obſerved that they were not to ſuppoſe themſelves wholly independent of the Britiſh Legiſlature, by getting at a great diſtance from it. This, as has before been taken notice of, was a new caſe in the Britiſh Government; ſome compromiſe therefore, or amicable agreement ſhould be made; that ſo the Americans may not be oppreſſed, nor the Britiſh Legiſlature loſe any part of its power, or juſt right.— In regard to the claims which the mother country has over her Children whom ſhe ſent under her protection to attain a better ſubſiſtence in a diſtant part of the world; and for whoſe ſupport ſhe has ſince been at a great expence— it was ſcarcely fully conſidered at firſt, whether in future ages, when they might probably become rich and numerous, they ſhould be taxed by the Britiſh Parliament, or by one of their own.

But though the Coloniſts cannot plead indeed any poſitive law which exempts them from taxation by a Britiſh Parliament, yet in their defence they ſpeak of the *ſpirit* of our Conſtitution, by which it appears, they ſay, that no taxes are to be paid by the people without their conſent,

ſent, or being properly repreſented by perſons of their own *chooſing*.

We may juſt obſerve, that in caſes of this importance, where dangerous diſputes may ariſe about rights and privileges, how happy would it be for the nation if things of this nature were clearly determined by expreſs laws, or public authority; ſo that perſons might be directed by the plain *letter* of our Laws as well as by the *ſpirit* of our Conſtitution—or to have ſomething more to ſay in their defence than that they *ought* to have ſuch or ſuch privileges, or that they of *right* belong to them; and then take the ſame liberty as if they were actually granted them by full *legal* authority.

When points of any moment are left entirely to be determined by the *ſpirit* of the laws, or by what ſome perſons think *ought to be*; many of different parties will be apt to interpret things according to their own *private ſpirit* or inclination; or as they are directed by intereſt, humour, or the like motives.

If our unfortunate differences were conſidered by both ſides with that ſerioufneſs and attention, which a matter of this moment ought to be; and with that diſpoſition of mind which the Chriſtian religion requires, we might reaſonably hope for peace, and agreement; and that ſome *plan*, or terms of accommodation, would be found out to confirm the juſt authority of the Britiſh Legiſlature over the inhabitants of the Colonies; and alſo to ſecure their right and trade; and remove their fears of being over-burdened with taxes. As our Colonies are at a great diſtance from us this is indeed a misfortune to the inhabitants themſelves, becauſe they cannot have

Repre-

Repreſentatives in Parliament, as we have at home. If they could ſend any, this privilege, I ſuppoſe, would be readily granted; or they would not be denied a proper ſhare in the Britiſh Legiſlature, upon which account they would not refuſe to be taxed, or pay their proportionable ſhare towards the ſupport of government; or what relates more particularly to the ſecurity of their own reſpective *Provinces*; but then their diſtance, or want of Repreſentatives, ſhould not be made a pretence for taking the Liberty of acting juſt as they pleaſe; or of contributing juſt what proportion they think fit to the public expence of Government, and giving them a greater privilege upon this account than the mother Country enjoys; or turning what may be looked upon as a misfortune into an advantage.

To remove this objection made by the Coloniſts; "That if they were to be taxed by the "Britiſh Parliament, it might, in order to ſave "their own money at home, lay the heavier bur-"den upon the Colonies," it has been obſerved, "That a certain proportion might be fixed "by Parliament: ſo that when Great Britain "raiſed any given ſum by a land tax; the Colo-"niſts ſhould only raiſe a proportionable ſum; "the mode of levying this tax to be left to the "provincial Legiſlatures, the appropriation of it "to be left to Parliament; and by this mode the "Houſe of Commons in England could not take "of the Coloniſts any more than they tax them-"ſelves."

Though the Coloniſts claim an exemption from being taxed by the Britiſh Parliament, yet they acknowledge, we find, "That they have "always contributed their proportional ſhare to

"the

" the common defence, whenever called upon " to do ſo, in the character of *Freemen* *." " Let " us, ſay ſome of them, be ruled according to " our excellent Conſtitution, and then command " the laſt Shilling of our property, and the laſt " drop of our blood in your ſervice †, &c."

Now if there be ſo great an agreement in the chief thing, namely, their willingneſs to contribute their due proportion to the ſupport of Government, it is a pity there ſhould be ſo dangerous a quarrel about the bare method of raiſing it;—ſurely ſome method might be found out to ſatisfy them, that they give as *Freemen*—and to ſecure them from being taxed by the Britiſh Parliament according to their own pleaſure; or that they ſhould only pay, as has been obſerved, their proportion according to the taxes laid on the ſubjects of Great Britain for particular uſes.

In order to remove the great objection of the Coloniſts, that their property is taken from them without their own conſent, the Colonies might perhaps be divided into large diſtricts, out of which a proper number of Repreſentatives might be ſent to Parliament; and indeed it has been reported that a ſcheme of this kind was on foot in order to ſettle the future government and tranquility of America.

Or, perhaps the Americans might be put in ſome meaſure in the ſame ſituation with the people of Ireland, who have a viceroy over them, and are taxed by their own Repreſentatives.—A writer on the ſubject of Taxation hath declared to the following purpoſe, " That no Co-

" lony,

* Reſolution of the *Continental Congreſs* in Philadelphia, &c.

† Humble Addreſs to the King by the Delegates of the inhabitants of Georgia, *July* 14, 1775.

" lony, or Community of Britiſh ſubjects, can " be juſtly taxed, or governed by acts of Parlia- " ment, without being allowed to participate " either perſonally or by repreſentation in the " democratic branch of the Legiſlature; and " where Colonies are ſo remote as to make it " impracticable, it becomes fit and neceſſary " to allow them ſeperate and independent Le- " giſlatures, by which they may be held in ſub- " jection and union with the *Crown*, but not to " *Parliament*; and he cites the Union betwixt " Great Britain and Ireland as an example of " the true conſtitutional mode of connecting " Britiſh dominions, that are otherwiſe ſeparat- " ed by nature."

We may juſt indeed obſerve in regard to Ireland, that King Henry the Second, in the twelfth Century, acquired that ſovereign dominion over the Iriſh, which had never before belonged to any Engliſh Monarch — They received him as their Lord and King of the whole Iſland, became vaſſals and tributaries to him, and we find, that by his royal mandate he convened a national *aſſembly*, or parliament. Liberty was granted to the Iriſh under certain regulations; and public acts paſſed in order to ſettle peace and the increaſe of true religion.—Several of the laws of England were alſo gladly received, and courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed upon the Engliſh model, &c *.

There is then this difference between the *Coloniſts* and the people of Ireland; that the former were always a part of our own nation, of the ſame *Body* with ourſelves, and under the ſame Laws; whereas the Iriſh were a diſtinct people and

* See Lord LITTLETON's Hiſtory of King HENRY II. Vol. V. Oct. Edit. Book IV. concerning the affairs of Ireland at that period.

and nation, before they became ſubject to the King of England; he might then grant them diſtinct rights and privileges of their own, or confirm the cuſtoms they had before been uſed to; ſo that they might look upon themſelves under ſubjection to the *King*, but independent of the *Britiſh Parliament*; ſeeing they had one of their own according to royal appointment, or called in a legal manner.

If the mode of Government they are under in Ireland would be agreeable to the Coloniſts (as we are told by ſome it would) we may hope, that for the ſake of peace and agreement ſomething of the ſame nature might be eſtabliſhed in our Colonies, particularly what relates to *parliamentary* power; and this would remove all fears and doubts about the point of taxation, and help to ſettle things upon a laſting foundation.

It ſeems to be allowed in general that there ought to be a ſupreme power ſomewhere in every government. This power in regard to the Britiſh empire (whoſe territories are ſo extenſive and diſtant one from another) is by ſome writers divided into parts. Thus for inſtance it is obſerved—"That Ireland being ſeparated from "England hath a parliament of its own, and "maketh and altereth Laws, and that our Sta-"tutes in England do not bind them, becauſe "they ſend no Repreſentatives to our Parlia-"ment—yet the Iriſh are nevertheleſs ſubject "to the ſame empire, which is bound together "by the *King*, who may juſtly be called the "center of the whole".—This we are told is applicable to America as well as Ireland—and that the ſupreme power which has a right to

tax the Americans is the *King*, the *Council*, and *Aſſembly* in the different Colonies,;—the reaſon aſſigned is, that becauſe when the firſt Settlers departed from this country to form a Colony, they ceaſed to be repreſented here, and therefore *ought* to have a new Conſtitution ſimilar to that at home. It is a pity (as we have obſerved) that things of this importance were not expreſſed in that clear manner ſo as not to be left doubtful.

This writer owns that the mother country ought indeed to be allowed ſomething as a token of ſuperiority over the Americans, and that this ſeems happily effected by the act of *Navigation* which is *allowed* by the Americans, and has been exerciſed much to their ſatisfaction, as well as to the great advantage of this Country—and it is alſo obſerved in defence of the Americans, "That when they claim a right of granting "their own money, they have no intention or "deſire to exclude the *King* from a third part "of their Legiſlative power." In regard to the difficulty of aſcertaining the proportion to be aſked for ſupplies from ſo many Colonies, and ſettle this arduous point, the Miniſter, we are told, "Might make a *requeſt* of ſuch an aid as "he wanted from the Repreſentatives of the "Colonies met together, which Congreſs might "examine the propriety of the requeſt, and di-"vide the proper proportion to the Colonies*."

As in the preſent ſtate of things, there ſeems to be no other likely means of eſtabliſhing peace and harmony amongſt us but by mutual conceſſions—and ſeeing the origin of our unhappy conteſts,

* See a Tract called, A ſecond anſwer to Mr WESLEY's *Calm Addreſs* to the Americans, *London* 1775, paſſim.

teſts, as has been obſerved, was from the preſent manner of taxing the Coloniſts—and as they tell us, they only deſire to be reſtored to the condition they were in at the concluſion of the laſt war, and that they are very willing to contribute their proportionable ſhare in lieu of taxes to the expence of government, and protection of their Country; if they might be left to the old cuſtomary way of *Requiſition*, &c.

Now it is to be hoped, that they might, conſiſtently with the honour of the Britiſh nation, be indulged in the way of doing it; or that if no other proper means of reconciliation could be found out, this probably had better take place or be reſtored; in order to put a ſtop to an expenſive and bloody war, ſo very detrimental to the whole Britiſh empire. And I think it has been publicly declared of late by ſome perſons in the Adminiſtration, "That as for "their parts they were not unwilling to give up "the point of *taxation* on beneficial terms of "accommodation."

If it could then be agreed upon, that the King, by his Lord Lieutenants, or Governors, in America, was to make a *Requiſition*, or demand of money wanted for the neceſſary uſe of government, or protection of the Colonies; and leave it to the provincial aſſemblies to determine by ſome proper means in what proportion, or in what manner it was to be advanced in the reſpective Colonies—this would remove, one might hope, the chief occaſion of our quarrels; or the hardſhip which they are repreſented as labouring under, namely, "The unreaſonableneſs of being at the "mercy of two powers, or acknowledging a right "of taxation both in their own *aſſemblies*, and "alſo in the Britiſh Senate—ſo that they could

" have no ſecurity in their property; as the " whole, as they obſerve, might be taken from " them by one act of a Parliament, in which " they were not repreſented."

We muſt further obſerve, that as ſome of the friends of the Americans, in their propoſals for peace and accommodation, have publicly declared that the Coloniſts are willing to acknowledge the Legiſlative authority of the Parliament of Great Britain (except in points of taxation) or to ſubmit to its Laws in what related to commercial regulations; this may help to ſecure the honour or authority of the Britiſh Legiſlature; which muſt be ſuppoſed indeed ſtill to exert its authority in ſuch caſes where the intereſt or ſafety of the whole empire is concerned.

Some firm agreement of this kind had, I ſay, better take place rather than our running the riſk of loſing the Britiſh empire in America, or attempting to ſubdue it by a deſtructive war. This conceſſion to the Coloniſts concerning taxation, muſt make them quite eaſy; the dignity and prerogative of the crown would ſtill be maintained; and the authority of the Britiſh Parliament be *acknowledged*. By this means we might ſeemingly come to a laſting peace and agreement, without doing any injury to the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution — and in order to ſecure the bleſſing of peace ſo highly neceſſary, and advantageous to the whole Britiſh empire; we may upon this account ſafely and honourably make ſome conceſſions one to another; which we might not be willing to make to nations we have no connections with, or whoſe intereſts are quite diſtinct from our own.

Give me leave to obſerve; that if I was to give my opinion about an *addreſs* to be preſented

to his *Majeſty* at preſent: I ſhould be deſirous to have it drawn up according to the *Conciliatory* plan here mentioned; and in ſuch a manner, or with that moderation and candor; that perſons of both parties, who have a love for peace, and the good of their Country, might cordially join in it—and this would beſt anſwer the end or deſign of *Addreſſes*.

And all perſons at preſent, who wiſh well to their Country, and have a deſire, that an end ſhould be put to our unfortunate and dangerous quarrels, look upon his Majeſty (the *Common Father* of his people) as the happy inſtrument under divine providence for reſtoring the bleſſing of peace; and ſecuring to his ſubjects, in all parts of his dominions, their legal rights and privileges; ſo as to prevent as much as may be all future differences amongſt them upon this account.

But I muſt aſk pardon for the liberty I have taken in ſome things here propoſed; as it may be thought that I am going out of my proper ſphere, and that I ſhould leave matters of this important nature to perſons of more political knowledge and better judgment in ſtate affairs. It was the love of peace, and the great advantage it would be to both the contending parties, that put me upon taking this liberty.

It was, as an ingenious writer obſerves, a ſaying of *Plato*, for which he was commended by *Tully*, "That no Citizen, even the meaneſt, "ſhould fail to promote the ſervice of the "ſtate he lives in, by ſuch ways and means as "fall within his province*." And there ſeems

* See a Dedication to Lord MANSFIELD, prefixed to a Piece called the Juſtice of Peace's Manual, *London*, 1774.

at preſent great occaſion for this kind of aſſiſtance.

As we are aſſured by a perſon of the moſt conſummate wiſdom—"That a kingdom divided "ed *againſt itſelf* (as is our unfortunate caſe at "preſent) is brought to *deſolation*," Matt. xii. 25.—It is neceſſary then, I ſay, that all perſons who have a due regard for their own good, as well as that of the public, ſhould think it both their duty and intereſt to make uſe of their beſt endeavours for promoting peace; to exerciſe their reſpective powers and abilities to remove, by all prudent means, our preſent diſcontents and uneaſineſſes; all popular prejudices, and ill grounded aggravations on either ſide (and ſuch there will be when diſputes are carried to a great height) and by mutual conceſſions ſtudy to accommodate all differences as ſoon as may be.

His Majeſty was pleaſed to declare a good while ago (when our diſturbances firſt began) "That it was with the utmoſt concern he ſaw "a ſpirit of outrage and violence prevailing "amongſt different claſſes of his ſubjects both "at home, and more particularly ſo in ſome of "his Colonies abroad *."

Our common, or public enemies, who now envy us upon account of the great extent, power, and riches of the empire we belong to, will rejoice in our quarrels, and take all the means in their power to increaſe them; as they know we are hereby making ourſelves a more eaſy prey to them; or fighting, as it were, their battles wholly at our own expence, ſo that this earneſt perſuaſive to peace cannot be looked upon as a needleſs

* See His Majeſty's Speeches to the Parliament, *May*, 13, and *November*, 8, 1768.

needleſs piece of advice to any perſons amongſt us, who wiſh well to the good of their country.

The virtuous and religious of all parties, in time of common danger, or when their Country ſtands in particular need of their aſſiſtance, will drop all private diſputes, or party differences, and exert their whole power in ſecuring the general ſafety and intereſt of the nation; and they are the moſt likely perſons to hit upon the proper means of doing it.—They will be ready to follow that excellent advice given by his Majeſty ſome time ago to his Parliament; namely, "Whatever differences of opinions may "prevail in other points, let it appear that, "whenever the intereſt of your Country is im- "mediately concerned, you are all ready to "unite," &c. Again they are put in mind, "That nothing can be ſo favourable to the "wiſhes of thoſe, who look with jealouſy on "the ſtrength and proſperity of this Country, "as the prevalence of animoſities and diſſen- "tions *."

I had made ſeveral more obſervations relating to our American diſputes and contentions, but muſt omit a great part of them as they would ſwell this treatiſe to a larger ſize than I intended it to be: I ſhall however briefly point out a few of them.

If ſome conciliatory propoſals of the ſame nature that have been here mentioned, were offered to the *Coloniſts*, they could then have no reaſon to ſay, that they are forced to take up arms in defence of their Liberty, and Property; or to maintain that *unalienable privilege* (as they ca-

* See His Majeſty's Speeches to the Parliament in November, 1768, and in *May*, 1770.

it) of Britiſh Subjects, the *voting away*, or granting their own money.—Which privilege, they ſay, they have been deprived of; and that this is the great occaſion of their preſent reſiſtance to government.

Great Britain, by offering ſuch terms as have been mentioned, will have ſufficiently done her part towards a reconciliation; and if the Coloniſts ſhould not willingly embrace the *propoſals*, it will ſhew that they have ſome dangerous deſign in view, as that of Independency, or ſetting up ſome diſtinct Government of their own.—And if this be the caſe, their friends in Britain muſt give them up, and look upon them as in a ſtate of open rebellion.

Several who are pleading for the Coloniſts, deſire that his Majeſty would recal his Troops and Fleets; and no "longer let the ſword be ſtain-"ed with the blood of his own Children," as they expreſs themſelves.

This effuſion of blood, we may obſerve, is indeed a very melancholy affair *, and it might be highly proper that a ceſſation of arms ſhould take place on both ſides; whilſt they are endeavouring by ſome mutual conceſſions and compliances to come to an honourable and laſting agreement. In regard to the recalling our Troops, it has on the other hand been obſerved by ſome, that it would at preſent be very neceſſary to keep up a ſufficient number of forces, that we may be upon a proper footing of entring even upon a negociation with the Americans; and not to diſarm till ſome promiſing or ſufficient preliminaries were agreed to.

There

* See more what is ſaid of War in ſome of the pages below.

There may indeed be the more occaſion for keeping up a ſufficient force in America, ſeeing ſome of the advocates for the Colonies have openly declared, "How very powerful they were; "that however at home we may differ amongſt "ourſelves, they are perfectly united—that ſuc- "ceſs againſt them by way of Conqueſt was im- "poſſible—that the whole ſtrength of this king- "dom is inadequate to the modern project of "ſubjugating the vaſt continent of America— "that they are daily growing ſtronger, and "that if we loſe the preſent moment of *reconci-* "*liation* we may loſe all—America may be re- "gained, but cannot be ſubdued," &c. Many more declarations of the ſame nature might be added if we had room.

Now we may obſerve, that ſuch kind of intimations will ſooner encourage the *Coloniſts* to ſet up for *independency*, than be a means of reconciliation with the mother Country, in which they conclude they have many friends.

But from the numerous Addreſſes to his Majeſty, and the large ſubſcriptions in all parts of the nation for the uſe and encouragement of the *Britiſh Forces* in America, the Coloniſts might be convinced, that they have not ſo large a party here in England as ſeveral of them may imagine.

An advocate for the Colonies, as an argument to let us ſee how neceſſary it is to accommodate our preſent differences, and be at peace with them, hath taken notice "That for ſome years "paſt the old world has been fed from the "new, otherwiſe we ſhould have had a *deſolating* "*famine*."

I ſhall take this opportunity of briefly obſerving, that as far as this relates to ourſelves the miſery

miſery or diſtreſs would proceed entirely from our own neglect in not cultivating and improving the immenſe tracks of waſte and unprofitable ground in all parts of the nation, and that it was therefore bad policy to let ſuch numbers of perſons emigrate into North America who might have been employed much better at home for the public good, as well as for their own private advantage.—By this means it would be eaſy to ſhew that we might have abundance of all the neceſſary proviſions of life for ourſelves, and ſo much to ſpare as to ſecure a profitable *trade* with other nations, which would never fail but by our own careleſſneſs.—And we may juſt obſerve that all other ſchemes about reducing the price of things, or ſatisfying the complaints of the *poor*, ſeem quite futile; or only deſigned to amuſe the people with groundleſs expectations.

The trade we have in our power to eſtabliſh at home, by means of the improvements mentioned, would prove an inexhauſtable fund of riches. A large quantity of improveable land well cultivated may be looked upon as the beſt *natural treaſure* any country can be poſſeſſed of; it cannot fail to bring in to us wealth from the different parts of the world, when we conſider our extenſive commerce in it. And the pooreſt man by his labour and induſtry muſt alſo be a partaker of the public bleſſing. —This kind of trade or merchandiſe is what mankind will always ſtand in need of; and would, when managed to the beſt advantage, be more valuable to us than even the poſſeſſion of the Indies, or its rich mines—and although ſeveral other branches of trade ſhould fail, and even

our

our commerce with the Colonies in a great measure ceaſe, or be deſtroyed; yet might we ſtill be a rich and powerful nation by improving to the beſt advantage the natural bleſſings we are in poſſeſſion of. I beg pardon for this *digreſſion*, it is indeed a ſubject I could dwell on much longer with pleaſure if this was a proper place for it.

To return.—Many of our Coloniſts are firmly reſolved, as they have declared, "To defend "their rights and privileges to the laſt extre-"mity. They mention their readineſs to *die* "for their Country, or for the ſupport of its "*liberties*." They ſpeak of the ſad alternative Liberty or Death—"That they are determined "to be *free* or *die*," &c.

We may juſt obſerve that it is neceſſary in a matter of this importance, that they ſhould ſeriouſly conſider whether *or no there be a cauſe*, to make uſe of the words of ſcripture, 1 *Sam.* xvii. 29. or real neceſſity for doing ſo. Some differences which may ariſe about diſputable points, or matters not clearly determined in our Laws—or about inconſiderable intereſts (which perhaps may be looked upon in haſte as amongſt the eſſentials of Liberty) will not be a ſatisfactory excuſe for involving their country in bloodſhed, or bringing on all the horrors of a *civil war*; and they may, if they are miſtaken in their judgments, have a great deal to anſwer for upon account of the dreadful conſequences of it—and the blame or guilt will lie upon them more than upon the *mother Country*, upon which they ſeem wholly to throw it.

And we muſt indeed be ſorry that ſome of their favourite writers in America, inſtead of propoſing ſome plans for averting the dreadful cala-

calamities of war; or recommending ſome moderate meaſures for accommodating our differences, and the neceſſity of mutual compliances for this purpoſe; rather take it for granted that the Coloniſts are entirely in the right; that by their preſent reſiſtance they are only ſtanding up in vindication of their juſt intereſts, contending for the ſanctity of Charters and Laws—that they are not to ſurrender any part of their *Birth-right*, or privilege they have a lawful claim to.—The people are therefore encouraged to proceed with "*a holy fervour*, *a divine enthuſiaſm*, as they expreſs it, ever perſuading themſelves that the "cauſe of Virtue and the cauſe of *Liberty* is the "cauſe of God." Encouragements of this nature help to account for that violence or enthuſiaſm by which ſeveral of the Coloniſts ſeem to be actuated in this preſent war; being fully poſſeſſed with the thoughts that they are fighting with a dangerous enemy to free themſelves from a ſtate of ſlavery.

As the Coloniſts talk about being martyrs for the cauſe of *Liberty*, and ſay ſo much concerning the danger there is of their being deprived of this bleſſing; it will not be improper juſt to obſerve on the other hand what very different notions are entertained by ſome of the chief leaders of the Britiſh forces in America, who have willingly ventured their lives in the cauſe of their Country.—"I truſt, ſays one of them, "that the Britiſh ſoldiers, aſſerting the rights "of the ſtate, the laws of the Land and being of "the Conſtitution, will meet all events with be-"coming fortitude—They will court victory with "the ſpirit that their cauſe inſpires, and from "the ſame motive will find the patience of *mar-*"*tyrs* under misfortune." He laments indeed the occaſion of thoſe wars, and obſerves "That it

"is

" is the wiſh not only of the King, but almoſt " of all his Miniſters, and every honeſt man, to " ſee this unhappy breach for ever cloſed;" but unfortunately, ſays he, for both countries, " ſome who influence the councils of America, " have very diſtant views from accommodation*." The ſame perſon upon another occaſion " ſin- " cerely lamented the miſeries brought upon " that once happy Country through the deep " deſign and dark contrivances of ambitious " men"—and he could not, he tells us, re- " flect without pain upon the infatuation of " the multitude who enjoyed perfect Liberty, " who felt no oppreſſion; but deceived and be- " trayed have flown to arms to avert *evil* that " only exiſted in imagination; and in lieu of " Liberty had madly erected a Tyranny upon " the ruins of the moſt free, happy, and leni- " ent government. — He hoped that the people would recover from their deluſion, and diſco- ver, before it was too late, that the government they want to ſubvert, " Is the ſureſt guardian of " their lives, property, and *freedom*.†"

When we compare together the accounts, or opinions, of the two contending parties, how greatly do they differ one from another. Now we may learn from hence that the common politicians, or the generality of the people muſt not look upon themſelves as competent judges in determining diſputes of this difficult nature (ſeeing whilſt ſome look upon the Colonies in a ſtate

* See a Letter of General GAGE's to G. WASHINGTON, Eſquire, *Boſton*, Auguſt 13, 1775.

† General GAGE's anſwer to the Addreſs of the Gentlemen and principal Inhabitants of the Town of *Boſton*, Oct. 1775.—See alſo Governor TRYON's anſwer to the Addreſs by the Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of the City of *New-York*, July, 1775.

ſtate of actual rebellion, others are of opinion that they are only ſtanding up for their conſtitutional rights and privileges.)

It may teach perſons not to be carried on by any violent party zeal; and help to promote *moderation* and *candor*; and being ſenſible of the danger we are in by our warm diſſentions, make them the more deſirous of peace and reconciliation by all fit and prudent means. "And "if there be a time (as an eminent perſon ob- "ſerves) when it would be wiſdom and huma- "nity to liſten to the calm and diſpaſſionate "voice of reaſon and *moderation*, it ſurely muſt "be the preſent *."

We muſt obſerve in the laſt place, that if our *Coloniſts*, (notwithſtanding their pretences of loyalty and deſire of peace) are ſtriving for Power and Independency; or are deſirous of ſetting up an empire of their own; a deſign they are charged with by ſome, (and indeed ſeemingly not without reaſon) if we may give credit to ſeveral of the accounts from that part of the country; and indeed from ſome intimations of their own writers; if that be the caſe they forfeit the regard due to them as brethren and fellow Citizens, and become our open enemies. Our preſent quarrel muſt not be looked upon as only between *America* and *Adminiſtration*, but rather with all the people of Great Britain, and every one of us is intereſted in our ſucceſs againſt the Coloniſts, or it becomes neceſſary for the different parties to be united in the common cauſe of their Country. And we have been told that ſome eminent perſons in the oppoſition have declared, "That "whenever it was evident that the Americans "aimed

* See his Excellency's Governor TRYON's Anſwer to the *New-York* Addreſs, *July* 1772.

" aimed at independence, it would be time then " for all parties to unite againſt them."—— And ſome more of their advocates have declared, " That if what is ſaid about their notions of in- " dependency be true, or their intention to cre- " ate a Common Wealth of their own," let every Engliſhman with vigour ſpurn or oppoſe the attempt.

Some of their friends think this charge againſt them muſt be groundleſs; as they imagine them to be wiſer than to attempt ſuch a *revolution*, or a deſign that they are not able to perform, for want of ſeveral neceſſary helps; and that they know very well if they were to throw off the government of Great Britain, they muſt " be " ſubject to Tyrants of their own, and expoſed " to invaſions from their enemies," &c.

Others have obſerved, " That any plan of " continental empire amongſt ſuch various in- " tereſts, tempers, religious perſuaſions, and " forms of government, would bring on as many " provincial wars amongſt them, as there are Co- " lonies."—" That if they were left to them- " ſelves in order to attain a preeminence, there " would be ſoon a civil war from one end of the " continent to the other—whilſt the Indians and " Negroes would be impatiently watching the " opportunity of extinguiſhing them altogether; " and that it would be difficult to have volun- " tary aſſociations of any duration," &c.

But notwithſtanding all this; or though it may appear quite contrary to their true intereſts to throw off the protection of Great Britain and to ſet up an empire of their own; yet there are ſeveral things in their preſent conduct which afford grounds to imagine that this is the deſign of many of them at leaſt.

Accord-

According to the Charters granted to the Colonies, from which they derive the rights they now enjoy, we are told, " That a power is re-
" ſerved by thoſe Charters to the Crown to ap-
" point Governors for the eſtabliſhment of ſeve-
" ral Colonies, which power has never been diſ-
" puted; but that of late, though they profeſs
" allegiance to their Sovereign, they have by
" force of arms diſpoſſeſſed his Governors, aſ-
" ſumed every kind of authority to themſelves,
" or taken the reins of government into their
" hands; they have ſeized upon and deſtroyed
" the King's ſhips, and by this means audaci-
" ouſly inſulted the Britiſh *flag*;—and what is
" ſtill more extraordinary, they have made an
" hoſtile attack, and even taken poſſeſſion of
" *Canada*, a country quite independent on, and
" unconnected with them; a country, which
" we acquired at the expence of ſome millions,
" and which is annexed to, and is part of the
" King's dominions. Hence then, as is ob-
" ſerved, they have declared war againſt this
" kingdom, or are in actual rebellion againſt
" their Sovereign; and that if this attack had
" been made by any foreign ſtate, every friend to
" his country would have ſounded an alarm,
" and joined in its defence," &c.

It will be here indeed neceſſary to mention the ſentiments of our gracious Sovereign, and the greater part of the High Court of Parliament, concerning the preſent conduct of the Coloniſts. His Majeſty, we find, looks upon them as perſons " who have embraced a ſyſtem of opinions
" repugnant to the true conſtitution of the Co-
" lonies;—that they have amuſed us for ſome
" time by vain expreſſions of attachment to the
" parental ſtate, and the ſtrongeſt proteſtations

of

" of loyalty, whilſt they are preparing a ge-
" neral revolt; and that they are now in an
" actual ſtate of Rebellion, carried on for the
" purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an *Independent empire*—
" that it was now become a part of wiſdom,
" and, in its effects, of clemency, to put a ſpeedy
" ſtop to thoſe diſorders by the more deciſive
" exertions *."

From this repreſentation given us of the Coloniſts, we find that their difference from us in ſentiments is as great as their diſtance in ſituation; and to bring about a true union or agreement in the common way of things ſeems to be attended with very great difficulties.

I cannot give better adviſe on this occaſion, than that all amongſt us, who are truly deſirous of ſeeing a happy concluſion of our preſent dangerous diſputes, would call in the divine aid and aſſiſtance; or with earneſtneſs or true devotion " Beſeech Almighty God (as we are taught in
" one of the prayers of our Church) that he
" would be pleaſed to direct the conſultations of
" the High-court of Parliament (at this time
" aſſembled) to the ſafety, honour, and welfare
" of our Sovereign and his Kingdoms; that all
" things may be ſo ordered and ſettled by their
" endeavours upon the beſt, and ſureſt founda-
" tions, that peace, and happineſs, truth, and
" juſtice, religion and piety may be eſtabliſhed
" amongſt us for all generations †."

And alſo offer up our petitions, " That He,
" by whom kings reign, and princes decree juſ-
" tice," *Prov.* viii. 14. would guide and direct our gracious Sovereign to make uſe of the beſt,

* See His Majeſty's Speech to the Parliament, *October* 26, 1774—and their Addreſſes to His Majeſty.

† Prayer for the High Court of *Parliament*.

and propereſt means for putting a ſtop to the dangerous animoſities that prevail amongſt us—and beg, "That neither our ſinful paſſions, nor "private intereſts may diſappoint his care for "the public good; but that juſtice, truth and "holineſs, *peace*, love, and all thoſe virtues "which adorn the Chriſtian profeſſion, may "flouriſh in his days *."

If the buſineſs of *taxation* only was the great and fundamental cauſe of our quarrels, (as was at firſt pretended) ſome way of accommodation, conſiſtent with the honour of Great Britain, might, we hope, be found out without much difficulty, as has been before obſerved.

If it ſhould indeed upon a ſtrict and impartial examination evidently appear to the world, that the Coloniſts have taken wrong and dangerous ſteps under pretence of ſecuring their *Liberty*, and have been carried on into ſedition and rebellion, or aimed at Independency:—yet we find that by becoming duly *ſenſible of their error*, and willing to return to their duty and obedience, they have the gracious promiſes of being received by his Majeſty "with *tenderneſs* "and *mercy* †:" and as "mercies and forgive-"neſſes belong to the Lord, though we have "rebelled againſt him," (as the Prophet obſerves, *Dan.* vi. 9.) to be followers of God in the exerciſe of thoſe heavenly qualities will help to promote the good of ſociety more than ſevere methods, or rigorous juſtice.

As the religion we profeſs, teaches us to put on bowels of mercies and kindneſs—not to avenge ourſelves but rather give place unto wrath,

* Form of Prayer for the 25th day of *October*.

† See his Majeſty's late Speech to Parliament.

wrath, to overcome evil with good, and the like *, this religious diſpoſition of mind muſt be on many occaſions highly uſeful to perſons in power and authority; as the beſt means of compoſing public differences, and dangerous diſputes; and of "drawing thoſe who oppoſe "themſelves with *bands of love* (as the prophet "expreſſes it, *Hos.* xi. 4.) of melting down, as "it were, the wrath of an enemy, and turning "it into gentleneſs and love." — King Solomon declares, "It is a man's *glory* to paſs over a *tranſ-* "*greſſion*," Prov. xix. 11.

I will beg leave juſt to obſerve farther, that when *political* diſputes run high, a few mutual conceſſions and compliances made by the contending parties under the direction of a powerful mediator, or by the command of a gracious Sovereign, who has an equal regard to the good of all his people, might, one would hope, ſet all things right, amongſt thoſe who have a mind to be ſatisfied, or ſtudy the things that make for *Peace*. And as the perſon who muſt be the chief inſtrument in promoting the ſalutary end is above wanting any thing for himſelf, but what is agreeable to the Laws, and conſiſtent with the happineſs of his Subjects, He will therefore be more ready and deſirous to command any alterations to be made in the adminiſtration of public affairs, which may tend more effectually to ſecure the peace and welfare of his people, and put a ſtop to any growing diſorders, or to the apprehenſions about them, ariſing from the obſcurity, or defect of any part of our Laws.

* Col. iii. 12, 13. Rom. xii. 19, 21. Eph. iv. 32. 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

I ſhall now proceed to conſider more particularly the power of religion, as it helps to promote and ſecure the bleſſings of *Liberty*, and *Peace*; or renders a nation happy and proſperous.

Firſt then, concerning the bleſſings of peace, and the obligation all Chriſtians in general are under to promote it. And as I am writing to thoſe, who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians; we may hope that a due regard will be paid to arguments of this kind.

As a proof of the excellency of the Chriſtian religion we may take notice, that a due obſervance of its precepts would in a great meaſure prevent public wars between Chriſtian nations, and the many evils and dreadful calamities which generally attend them; and ſecure or perpetuate the bleſſings of peace.

Chriſtians in general ought ſeriouſly to conſider that the *Captain* of their ſalvation is repreſented in ſcripture as the *Prince of Peace*.—That one great intention of his coming into the world was to promote peace on earth, and good will towards men. This was part of the Hymn ſung by the Angels at his nativity §. That all who profeſs his holy religion "As brethren, or one "body in Jeſus Chriſt, ſhould follow after "things *that make for peace*; and if it be poſ"ſible, as much as lieth in them, to live *peace*"*ably* with all men †." This I ſay, their Chriſtian profeſſion ſtrictly obliges them to do. "*Wars* "and *fightings* are repreſented as proceeding "from their *Luſts*, or unreaſonable deſires after "power, riches, fame, and the like acquiſitions*."

But

§ See Iſa. ix. 6. Pſal. lxxii. 7. Luke ii. 14. Heb. vii. 2.
† Rom. xiv. 19. chap. xii. 18. Matt. xxiii. 8.
* James iv. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 11.

But the *wiſdom from above*, by which they were to be directed, is deſcribed as peaceable, gentle and eaſy to be intreated, *full of mercy*.—And we are told alſo in the ſame place of ſcripture, "That the fruit of righteouſneſs is ſown *in peace* "to them that *make peace* *;" or the promoters of *peace*, when this is done out of good will towards mankind, will reap the fruits of their labour, or be plenteouſly rewarded for it. Thus alſo our Saviour declares in general, "Bleſſed "are the peace-makers, for they ſhall be call-"ed the children *of God*." — Who is alſo, we read, repreſented as the God of love and *peace* †.

Our Church piouſly and charitably teaches us to offer up our prayers to God, "That it "would pleaſe him to give to all nations, unity, "peace, and concord—to give us peace in our "time, and the like §." And there is indeed the greateſt reaſon for doing ſo when we ſeriouſly conſider the dreadful calamities which generally attend war. "How horrible an evil is "*war*, (ſays an eminent writer) when Heroes "are ambitious of adorning their brows with "laurels; thoſe laurels are conſtantly ſtained "with human blood, which tarniſhes all their "luſtre ‖."

The ſame perſon in another place finds great fault with moſt of our hiſtorical writings both ancient and modern, for their conſiſting chiefly of a mere deſcription of thoſe wars which *have deſolated the earth*; this looks, ſays he, "As "if mankind found nothing great in nature, "nothing worthy of their attention but that

* James iii. 17, 18. † Matt. v. 9. Rom. xv. 33. 1 John iv. 8. § See *Litany*, &c.

‖ See Letters by Baron BIELFELD, Chancellor of all the *Univerſities* in the Dominions of His *Pruſſian* Majeſty, &c. VOL. I. Letter 23. *London*, 1768.

" which ought to cover them with ſhame and " confuſion; that which ariſes from their de- " pravity; a mad deſire of victory, of deſtroy- " ing each other, a barbarous cuſtom of main- " taining their pretenſions by force of arms; of " imagining that ſuperior force gives right†," &c.

We may juſt obſerve, that the ſeveral accounts given us in hiſtory of ſo many *myriads* of mankind, who have fallen in battle, may indeed be of ſervice to the readers in ſetting before them the great *evils* of war. We may be fully convinced of this truth, if we only look back, or take a ſhort review of the late wars in Europe, or of that only which relates to Germany. Perſons muſt be diveſted of humanity; be quite forgetful of the nature of that holy religion they profeſs, or be unaccountably impoſed upon by the force of cuſtom; if they are not much affected by this and the like accounts of the *deſolation* brought *upon the earth* by war; began perhaps upon very ſlight pretences §.

Tully ſpeaks of a learned Philoſopher, who wrote a treatiſe concerning the *deſtruction of men*, in which having mentioned ſeveral cauſes of it, ſuch as inundations, peſtilences, famines, and the like; — He declares there are more deſtroyed by *wars*, ſeditions, and ſuch like misfortunes, which men are themſelves the occaſion of than by all other accicents, and calamities ſummed up together ‖.

Here

† See his Elements of *univerſal erudition*, Vol. III. Chap. IV. of *Hiſtory in general*.

§ In a Letter ſaid to be written by our gracious Queen, when Princeſs of Mecklenburgh, to the King of Pruſſia, the *horror* and deſtructive effects of war are deſcribed in a moſt affecting manner.

‖ Tully de Officiis, Lib. II. Chap. 5.

Here we may apply the words of one of our own Poets; "O! Thou fell monſter *war!* that "in a moment lays waſte the nobleſt part of "the Creation *."

Though by cuſtom it often happens that calamities of this kind, or the accounts of many thouſands ſlain in battle, are read with little or no concern, eſpecially by perſons who live at a diſtance from thoſe ſcenes of horror; or may be perhaps deeply engaged in pleaſure and diſſipation: yet certainly when the thing is conſidered in a ſerious and religious light, this dreadful havoc muſt ſhock and aſtoniſh us.

It may not be improper here to obſerve, that from a view of the miſerable and horrid devaſtation of public wars; ſome writers have been of opinion, that this practiſe is abſolutely unlawful, "*Antichriſtians* are quite contrary to the "Goſpel; and that it ſhews the *fallen ſtate* of "Chriſtendom†," &c.

It muſt indeed be owned with great concern that ſeveral wars are wicked and unchriſtian, but the guilt falls upon thoſe who are the occaſion of them. And every true Believer is ſenſible how very defective the Chriſtian world is upon this account; and wiſhes for the literal accompliſhment of that prophecy, wherein it is foretold, "That nation ſhall not riſe up againſt "nation, neither ſhould they learn war any "more §." Which paſſages are either a deſcription of what the *true* profeſſion of the chriſtian religion would lead mankind to; or they point out a more perfect ſtate, not yet come.

* Row's Tamerlane.

† See Mr LAW's earneſt Addreſs to the Clergy, printed 1761, page 155, &c. This I ſuppoſe is alſo ſtill the opinion of the generality of our *Quakers*.

§ Iſa. ii. 4. chap. xi. 6.

But whilſt ſo many in the world remain ambitious, covetous, revengeful, wicked, and unjuſt; it is, we may obſerve, lawful and neceſſary even for faithful and religious Chriſtians to be upon their guard; prepared to defend their lives and properties againſt the attacks of dangerous and unreaſonable enemies; and make uſe of that power which God has put into their hands; for to leave all to the divine care or reſtraint (as ſome are of opinion we ſhould) would be rather *tempting* God than *truſting* in him.

It may be looked upon as a virtue to ſtand up in defence of our Country, to repreſs ſedition and rebellion, or repel violence unreaſonably offered by other nations. And the frequent neceſſity there is indeed for doing this, ſhews how much the divine precepts of the goſpel are neglected or deſpiſed; and our great diſtance from that peaceable ſtate beforementioned.

It is alſo generous and charitable (in the preſent ſtate of things) to aſſiſt at any time other nations in diſtreſs, or thoſe, who are oppreſſed by any powerful faction, as far as we properly and ſafely can.—Still remembring, as Chriſtians, that war is to be conſidered as a grievance or evil that ought to be removed as ſoon as may be.

Our Saviour, who was perfectly acquainted with the nature of man, does not abſolutely forbid *war*; but gives, we find, directions for the proper conduct and behaviour of the ſoldiers, who came to him to aſk *what they muſt do* *, If his diſciples in general would indeed be directed by the divine precepts of the goſpel, wars would then in a great meaſure ceaſe in the Chriſtian world.

It

* Luke iii. 14.

It will not be improper here to take notice, that our gracious Sovereign, as an evident proof of his desire to advance peace, religion, and the true interest of his people, has been pleased to assure us in several speeches from the Throne, "That it has always been his fixed purpose to preserve the *general tranquility*; that it would have been a great satisfaction to him, if all other powers in Europe had been as careful as he had been to avoid taking any steps that might endanger it—that He should continue his endeavours to appease, if possible, the troubles which prevailed at that time in some parts of Europe — that the fixed object of all his measures were to preserve peace, and at the same time to assert and maintain the dignity of his crown, and the just rights and interests of his people *," &c.

Give me leave here to take notice of an address by a large body of the Clergy offered to his Majesty not long ago — wherein they take notice of the many proofs that his Majesty has given of his true paternal care and tenderness for his Subjects.—"But as ministers of the gospel of peace, (they more particulary observe) we hold ourselves more especially bound to express our sincerest thanks to your Majesty for your unwearied endeavours during a long course of years to prevent the needless effusion of Christian blood, and to establish peace and tranquility in every part of Europe; a conduct no less consonant to the maxims of sound policy, than to the dictates of humanity, and

"the

* See His Majesty's Speeches to both Houses for some Years last past.

" the benevolent temper of our moſt holy re-
" ligion †."

I have already taken notice of his Majeſty's late gracious declarations, wherein he tells us, " How anxious he had been to prevent, if it " had been poſſible, the effuſion of the blood " of his ſubjects, and the calamities which are " inſeparable from a ſtate of war," &c.

And it muſt be alſo looked upon as a public bleſſing, when thoſe, who are placed in power and authority under him are deſirous of ſecuring peace, when they can do it conſiſtently with honour, and the freedom, and eſtabliſhed rights of their country.

And when at any time it may ſeem neceſſary to engage in battle in defence of what is looked upon the rights belonging to our civil eſtabliſhment, it muſt then be remembered, " That " *bravery* and compaſſion are aſſociate virtues," (as has been lately juſtly obſerved in ſome of our public debates) " and that this diſpoſition " of mind ſhould ever diſcriminate the correc-
" tion of the ſtate from the impetuous impulſe " of paſſion and revenge."

Peace is ſo great a bleſſing in itſelf, that, as an eminent writer of old obſerves, " Moſt per-
" ſons or nations deſire it, when they wage war " one with another; or the intention of war is " to ſecure an *honourable peace* *." And when this is happily eſtabliſhed, religion will afford the beſt means of making it firm and laſting, or preſerving it in all our borders §.

The

† See Addreſs of the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and Clergy of the province of *Canterbury*, to his Majeſty, *Jan.* 25, 1774.

* Et ipſi, qui bella volunt ad glorioſum pacem bellando cupiunt venire, pacis intentione geruntur et bella, &c. Vid. Aug. de Civit. Dei Lib. xix. cap. 12.

§ Pſalm cxlvii. 14.

The time of peace, we may juſt obſerve, is alſo a proper ſeaſon for making the greater improvement or progreſs in the knowledge and practiſe of religion. When our Saviour appeared on *earth* to preach ſalvation to mankind, there was *peace* in all known parts of the world, (at that time under the power of the Roman emperor Auguſtus) *. It was thus ordained, we may ſuppoſe, by divine providence, that by this means perſons might be more at liberty, or better diſpoſed for attending to the glad tidings of ſalvation, and receiving the *knowledge* of the truth †.—We may juſt obſerve, that the wars we are engaged in with the Weſtern world puts a ſtop in a great meaſure to the promoting Chriſtian knowledge, and the work of converting the Indians; nay perhaps prejudices them much againſt us, and that religion we profeſs.

How very deſirous ſhould we alſo be of peace out of a political view, or upon account of the immenſe public debt the nation is burdened with; brought on by our former wars? As a trading nation alſo *war* ſhould be avoided as much as poſſible, not only by us at home, but by our Coloniſts in America, who from their want of people are under a neceſſity of purchaſing, at much expence, great numbers yearly from diſtant parts of the world; and they muſt now be the more diſtreſſed upon this account by the multitudes that are engaged in war. And *we* might employ at home greater numbers than we can well find, in cultivating and improving the vaſt quantity of waſte, and unprofitable land to be met with in all parts of the kingdom, for

* SUET. de Vita AUGUST. Cap. 22. Luke ii. 1. ORIG. contra CELS. Lib. ii. p. 79.

† Heb. x. 26.

for the public benefit, or advantage of the nation, as has been juſt obſerved.

Plutarch in his life of Numa informs us, that the temple of Janus was ſhut up for the ſpace of forty three years; during which time an uninterrupted peace prevailed in every quarter of his dominions; and that this prince brought the people to apply themſelves diligently to *agriculture*; for the improvement of which, public encouragements were given; as this occupation tended to implant a *love of peace* as well as to improve and enrich the ſtate, and formed the manners of the people to ſimplicity, or a plain honeſt way of life.—But it is obſerved, that there ſtill remained courage and bravery enough to defend their right and property againſt a public enemy.

And the greateſt heroes in old Rome, (thoſe conquerors of the world) returned, we find, to their own farms, and the employment of agriculture, when they were not wanted in the field of battle.

How great a bleſſing to this nation would a term of peace be as laſting as that juſt mentioned in the reign of Numa, if it was made a proper uſe of in removing that heavy burden of taxes it now labours under? But a peace of this continuance is a piece of happineſs not to be expected, I am afraid, even in Chriſtian ſtates and kingdoms; when we conſider what great numbers there are, who ſeem to be governed by ſelf-intereſt, ambition, and other motives quite inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian character.

We read, that one cauſe of the great public bleſſings which the people enjoyed in the reign of Solomon, was, "That he had *peace on all ſides*

ſides round him; and that Judah and Iſrael were many as the ſand which is by the ſea in multitude. Peace was the occaſion of a very great increaſe in the number of the people; hereby they had nothing to take them off in making great improvements in the cultivation of the earth; which afforded that prodigious plenty we have there an account of; and though the people were ſo very numerous, yet we read of their "eating and drinking, and making merry," or rejoicing in the plenty of good things they poſſeſſed *. And it has been juſtly obſerved by ſome writers, that Solomon amongſt the Jews, and Numa amongſt the Heathens, have acquired a more laſting name than thoſe who by force of arms have endeavoured to raiſe themſelves, as they thought, to the greateſt pitch of glory. How much muſt it eclipſe this kind of glory, when we conſider that it is founded on the deſtruction of ſo many *myriads* of the human ſpecies.

Let us now proceed to conſider more particularly the advantage or neceſſity of religion in order to preſerve civil liberty, and advance the good and happineſs of ſociety; or ſecure the very being of our Conſtitution, which it is ſo much our intereſt to do.

A due regard to the precepts of that holy religion, which we as Chriſtians profeſs, muſt have a good influence on the minds of thoſe in authority; as well as of thoſe who are to obey. Power is chiefly deſired by the former, as it gives them an opportunity the better to diſplay their good will towards mankind; or make it evident from their actions, that they are true *patriots*, or

* See 1 Kings iv. 20, &c.

or lovers of their country—they will not be ſwayed by paſſion, humour, party, or ſelf-intereſt, but will have more enlarged and noble views; a regard chiefly to the public good of ſociety. They will be ready and deſirous to redreſs all grievances, and give due ſatisfaction to the people concerning imaginary ones; taking care that all complaints be determined according to the clear declarations of the laws; and when this is the caſe, *Liberty* can never be in danger, influenced by the divine precepts of the Goſpel, they are ready as they have *opportunity to do good unto all men*; to follow that which is altogether juſt; and promote the peace *of the city*, or welfare of the people whereunto they belong *. Upon this account king Solomon obſerves, "The deſign of the righteous is "only good; and by the bleſſing of the up-"right the city is exalted:"—and again, "When "the righteous are in authority, the people re-"joice †." There will be then no complaining in their *ſtreets*, but every man will ſit under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and none ſhall make them afraid, as the prophet expreſſes it ‖; or they will enjoy with comfort the privileges and bleſſings which providence, and the laws of their country, deſigned for them. They are under no fear of any kind of oppreſſion, or of labouring under unneceſſary burdens, as nothing more will be required of them than what is requiſite to anſwer the real exigencies of the *ſtate*, or ſupport its true intereſt. Economy will be encouraged, or a prudent management of things relating to the public good; which care is equally neceſſary for the promoting the welfare

* Gal vi. 10. Jer. xxix. 7. ch. xxxviii. 4. Deut. xvi. 20.
† Prov. xi. 11, 23. chap. xxix. 11. ‖ Micah iv. 4, 5.

welfare of a nation, as for that of a private family.

As the perſons, who are influenced by religious wiſdom, are the beſt and indeed the only true defenders of the civil rights and liberties of the people; ſo will they alſo on the other hand be no leſs deſirous or careful to guard againſt, and diſcourage as much as may be, all public licentiouſneſs, or the abuſe of Liberty and contempt of lawful authority; which things are equally dangerous to the true happineſs and peace of a nation, as oppreſſion, or abuſe of power is.

A due obſervance alſo of the precepts of the goſpel will be the beſt means of promoting public peace and order, as it inſtructs the people in the proper nature and bounds of that ſubjection, which they are to pay to the *higher powers* (as the apoſtle expreſſes it) or to thoſe who are appointed to rule over them. The Chriſtian religion teaches them to look upon civil government as the ordinance of God; or as an inſtitution agreeable to his divine will; and that they muſt therefore be ſubject, or pay due obedience to the laws of their Country, or the *ordinance* of man, as St Peter calls it *, not upon account of *wrath* (or fear of puniſhment) but for *conſcience ſake*, or the *Lord's ſake* (as the ſame Apoſtle directs us) that is, out of an inward ſenſe of duty and willing obedience to the commands of God. And it was to remove ſome wrong notions that then prevailed among the Jews concerning the nature of ſubjection, that in the ſame place he tells the new converts, not to uſe the *Liberty* that belonged to them as a cloak

* 1 Pet. ii. 13.

cloak of *maliciouſneſs*, (or as a cover to evil and ſeditious practiſes and deſigns) but to behave themſelves, as the *ſervants of God*.

Upon this account Chriſtians are to conſider true Liberty, not as conſiſting in a right to ſay and do what they pleaſe; but in the peaceable enjoyment of all thoſe privileges or rights given by the laws; and they will be deſirous to be obedient, and yet *free*—and look upon human laws, when judiciouſly framed, and impartially executed as the proper foundation of civil Liberty; which bleſſing indeed cannot be of long continuance in any nation, without the ſupport of virtue and true religion; and when theſe prevail and flouriſh, we have then good reaſon to expect that juſtice and wiſdom will prevail in all its public councils, that the people will enjoy peace and freedom, and their Sovereign honour and pleaſure in reigning over them. Thus both private duty, and public intereſt directs perſons to promote, as much as lieth in their power, the cauſe of religion; and we cannot ſay enough in its behalf.

Chriſtianity alſo (we may juſt obſerve) in a particular manner tends to advance and ſecure *religious*, as well as civil Liberty; ſo that in the nation, where it is truly profeſſed and practiced, the people may properly be ſaid to *be free indeed* *.—Perſecution upon account of religion is ſo far from being agreeable to the doctrine of the goſpel, or a part of genuine Chriſtianity, that it is one of the moſt dangerous corruptions of it.—We find, that when ſome of our Lord's diſciples ſeemed to be deſirous, that they might be permitted to command fire to come down from

* Iſaiah viii. 36.

from heaven to consume those persons, who rejected the Gospel, or would not receive Christ as their Saviour; even in this case He turned and rebuked, or severely reprimanded them, saying—"Ye know not what manner of spirit "ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come "to destroy mens lives but to save them *." Hence we fully learn that *persecution* is not that kind of *wisdom* which descendeth from *above*, or hath the approbation of heaven, but is earthy, sensual, *devilish* (to make use of the words of the Apostle) §; entirely opposite to the benevolent genius, or spirit of the Gospel; which teaches us love, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, compassion, mercy, and good will towards mankind. And the only *compulsion* allowable in matters of conscience and religion is the use of earnest persuasion, and forceable arguments.—"The church of Rome has "some colour for her persecution and cruelty, "since she pretends to infallibility; but these "practices are absurdly unreasonable among "those who own that they may be mistaken "themselves †."

But to return to what we were saying about the general good effects of virtue and religion:

When persons in power and authority are good as well as great, the affairs of the public can scarce go much amiss, and this is the *party* which every one who wishes well to the prosperity of his Country should endeavour to strengthen, and have in that high esteem which is due to them, in order to encourage others to follow their example. The ancient Romans we

* Luke ix. 54, &c. § James iii. 18.

† Conclusion of Bishop BURNET's History of his own Time, Page 637.

find wiſely deſigned that the way to the temple of *honour* ſhould lie through the temple of *virtue.*

We find, that even after the Roman Commonwealth became corrupt and degenerate, yet when danger threatned the city, it was thought neceſſary to promote perſons of virtue and integrity to poſts of the greateſt honour and power. Thus for inſtance in the competition between *Cicero* and *Cataline* for the conſulſhip; the Nobles, knowing the vicious character of the latter, almoſt unanimouſly made choice of the former; though through envy at other times they had in general been deſirous to depreſs him.

But they were now ſenſible, that in the great danger that threatned the Republic, a perſon of his virtue and valuable qualifications was the propereſt of all others to preſerve it—and one of their own hiſtorians obſerves, "That in caſes "of danger, *pride* and *envy* naturally ſubſide "and yield the poſt to honour and virtue *."

If from what has been obſerved, it then appears, that the beſt, or indeed the only true ſupport of *Liberty* is religion; they therefore who neglect or deſpiſe the latter, can never be looked upon as true friends to the former, however zealous they may appear in its behalf; they may be actuated by the deſire of popular applauſe—by perſonal or party reſentments—by an impatience of any reſtraint—an uneaſineſs in ſeeing others inveſted with more power and authority than themſelves; or the like motives.

Perſons may harangue with ſome ſeeming warmth on the corruption of the times they live in, and find fault with public meaſures, and yet be

* Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia et ſuperbia poſt fuere. SALLUST—See Dr MIDDLETON's Life of CICERO, Vol. I. page 143.

be no true patriots; in order to become really ſo, or ſuch as may at all times be relied upon, they muſt have an inward ſenſe of duty, virtuous principles implanted in their minds, a full perſuaſion that they are to give an account at a great tribunal hereafter of their deſigns and actions in this life; or in ſhort, give me leave to ſay, they muſt *be good Chriſtians*, and they who walk in truth, and uprightneſs with their God, muſt always think it their duty to act with juſtice and integrity in what relates to man, and ſtudy alſo to promote the public intereſt and happineſs of *ſociety*.

Thoſe perſons then who are moſt influenced by the principles of religion, will prove the beſt *ſupporters* of the *rights* and liberties of the people, or *patriots* that may be *relied* on—they will make it their endeavour to "exterminate cor-"ruption, or prevent any plan from being form-"ed that may ſubvert the Conſtitution — have "the trueſt concern for the freedom, peace and "welfare of the Britiſh empire," &c. For effecting this, amongſt other things, ſome perſons have entered into a particular *aſſociation* of late.

Now the beſt means any perſons can take for advancing the public peace and happineſs of the nation is to give by *example and precept* all due encouragement to religion; ſo that it may prevail amongſt thoſe who are to bear rule, and thoſe who are to obey—and then things could never go much amiſs.

All arguments made uſe of in defence of Liberty, or zealous declarations in its behalf, will always have the greater regard paid to them when they come from perſons of approved and reli-

gious characters; they only can be properly looked upon as influenced by generous principles, laudable deſigns, and a ſincere regard for the true benefit and happineſs of mankind; and it would be in a manner abſurd "to promiſe "others *Liberty*, whilſt they themſelves are ſer-"vants of corruption"—as the apoſtle expreſſes it *.

An eminent old Heathen, whom we have mentioned before, obſerves, that as none but a wiſe and good man can be free himſelf; and that as all wicked men are upon ſeveral accounts *ſervants* and *ſlaves*, they cannot therefore properly ſpeaking be accounted patrons of civil *Liberty*; or indeed be fitly qualified to have rule and power over others †. And the royal Pſalmiſt declares, "I will walk at *Liberty*, O Lord, for "I ſeek thy precepts§."

It has been obſerved by ſome political writers in regard to Liberty, "That no people were "ever enſlaved but thoſe who deſerved to be "ſo; or were become irreligious, luxurious, "and corrupt."—And others have declared, "That the ſureſt way to make perſons ſlaves, "or deprive them of their Liberty, is to de-"bauch their manners, or *encourage irreligion*, "and immorality." This *maxim* is indeed of ſo infamous a nature, that we hope it is very rarely followed.

A ſenſible and impartial writer, ſpeaking of our own ſtate, obſerves, "That we are the *freeſt* "nation in the world, and all profeſs to be fond "of

* 2 Pet. ii. 19.

† Dictum eſt ab eruditiſſimis viris, niſi ſapientem *Liberum* eſſe neminem, &c. Igitur omnes Improbi ſervi, &c. Vid. TUL. oper. Paradox. v. PLUTARCH vita CATONIS.

§ Pſal. cxix. 45. and 2 Pet. ii. 19.

" of Liberty. But alas! ſays he, how few of " us act as if we were reſolved to ſecure this " bleſſing? and that to corrupt the manners of " the people, and yet tell them that they muſt " at all events be *free*, is an abſurdity which " never prevailed more than at this time; but " the name of *Liberty* will never preſerve us " when the eſſence of virtue is loſt," &c.

We find that when the old Romans became corrupt and vicious, they ſoon loſt their *Liberty*; and ſome who made ſpecious pretences of being defenders of it, were at the ſame time attempting to deſtroy it; as it is evident by the following remarkable inſtance. When *Cicero* (that true patriot, and zealous defender of the laws and liberties of his Country) was overpowered by a dangerous faction, which ſeized his effects, plundered his houſes, and burnt them to the ground; *Clodius*, one of the moſt vicious and licentious men in Rome, was the principal perſon concerned in this act of violence and injuſtice; who was alſo himſelf endeavouring to overthrow the legal Conſtitution of his Country as faſt as he could, and bring the people into a ſtate of ſlavery; yet he, we find, erected at the ſame time a temple to the goddeſs *Liberty* on the very place where one of *Cicero*'s houſes had ſtood. And what is farther remarkable, it appeared afterwards upon enquiry, that the image of the goddeſs he had ſet up in the temple, was the ſtatue of a noted *Courtezan* §.

* See Mr HANWAY's Three Letters, &c. *London*, 1772, Page 74, 85, &c.

§ See a more particular or full account of this affair in Dr MIDDLETON's Life of CICERO, Vol. I. p. 25, &c. Vol. II. p. 15. See alſo the Hiſtory of TULLY prefixed to his Works, p. 29. Edit. Elzev. apud HACKIUM 1661.

Hence we ſee, in confirmation of what has been ſaid, that perſons of vicious characters may ſometimes cover dangerous deſigns with ſpecious pretences of public good; and even privately make a jeſt of what other perſons look upon as *ſacred.*

Tully himſelf ſpeaking of this *Temple of Liberty* calls it, we find, the *Temple of Licentiouſneſs* *.

As I am treating about Civil Liberty, I will venture to offer a few general rules, which may perhaps be of ſome little uſe.

We may obſerve, that perſons by their violent and intemperate profeſſions in behalf of *Liberty* do hurt the cauſe they pretend to eſpouſe, or there may be enthuſiaſts in regard to *civil* as well as religious *Liberty*, who bring both into danger by the raſh methods they purſue. A late judicious writer, who had ſhewed himſelf to be a patron of true *Liberty*, obſerves, "That "the talking ſo much about *Liberty* hath "made low people (more particularly) run "into licentiouſneſs and rudeneſs." He takes notice, "that *Plato* ſpeaks of ſome cities, "that may ſo thirſt after Liberty, as to be in-"toxicated with it, when their orators are cor-"rupt who draw it. And this indeed (as our "author obſerves) is pretty much the caſe "amongſt ourſelves, and is certainly a circum-"ſtance from which no ſmall evils may be ap-"prehended, and it is therefore of great import-"ance to ſtop it as much as may be ‖."

Tully

* Exædificatum *Templum Licentiæ*, TULL. de Legibus, Lib. II.

‖ See Dr ELLY's (late Biſhop of St David's) Tracts of *ſpiritual* and temporal *Liberty*, Vol. II. p. 283, Tract VI.

Tully informs us that the Athenian State was chiefly ruined by an *immoderate* or improper uſe of Liberty or letting it run into *licentiouſneſs* in their public debates *.

The ſpirit of Liberty, unleſs it be guarded by true Chriſtian *moderation* § and charity, will be apt to hurry perſons on (by following the bent of their paſſions) into *licentiouſneſs*; and this it does when it puts them at any time upon making uſe of ſatyrical or abuſive language. But all thoſe who are deſirous of taking the beſt means in their power to advance the public good, ought to conſider, that ſevere expreſſions and *contemptuous* words promote *reſentment*, rather than *conviction* in the minds of thoſe whoſe conduct is called in queſtion; tend to inflame our differences and diſputes, and quite prevent the entering mutually upon any ſuch meaſures as may bring about peace and reconciliation.—Nay, if perſons are made ſenſible of ſome of their miſtakes, by the arguments of a violent adverſary, yet they may not perhaps be willing to own it; ſo that even good advice may be thrown away, or become uſeleſs by an improper way of conveying it.

And this kind of behaviour, or language we are here ſpeaking of, never had any good effect in private or public conteſts, whether they were of a civil, or religious nature. Strong arguments, conveyed in mild and decent terms, alway prevail moſt in eſtabliſhing the truth; or carry the greateſt force with them.

We read in ſcripture, that the waters of Marah were ſo bitter, that the people could not

* Hoc uno malo concidit, Libertate immoderatâ, licentiâ concionum, ORAT. 24. pro L. FLACCO.

§ Phil. iv. 5.

drink them, but they were made ſweet and uſeful by means of caſting into them a tree, which the Lord ſhewed unto *Moſes* *. Now we may compare to thoſe waters not only ſome of our party debates, but alſo ſome of our modern writings; in order to give them a more agreeable reliſh, and make them more uſeful, they want to *be ſweetened*, as it were, by throwing in a proper quantity of thoſe valuable and neceſſary ingredients, namely, *moderation*, *candor*, and *charity*.

A ſober and candid enquiry would be the beſt way of diſcovering truth, and promoting general peace and agreement; and perſons would with more willingneſs hear of their faults, or errors, and ſooner amend them; if their good actions, or intentions were fairly acknowledged; (and they muſt be very bad indeed, if they have no juſt claim to this treatment.)

And we may juſt take notice, that if thoſe in authority find that all their public proceedings are cenſured without diſtinction by their opponents; this may perhaps make them more indifferent in their endeavours to pleaſe, or they will diſregard what is alledged againſt them; looking upon it as nothing of courſe to *be found fault with*.

We may hope that there never will be wanting amongſt us worthy perſons, who, out of a true regard to, or love of their Country, will be always ready to give notice in any time of real danger it may be in, either from private or public enemies; ſtand *in the gap*, or breach, and uſe their beſt endeavours to ſtop the way againſt thoſe who would at any time oppreſs or enſlave it,

* Exod. xv. 23, &c.

it. We may juſt obſerve indeed, that if the people ſhould find that they are frequently *alarmed* with groundleſs reports of the loſs of Liberty, or that things are much out of order, it may occaſion a remiſſneſs in times of real danger; as the perſon in the fable, by wantonly calling the ſhepherds often to his aſſiſtance when there was no occaſion for it, could not at laſt perſuade them to believe him, when the *Wolf* was actually devouring the *Flock*.—This behaviour, to make uſe of the Apoſtle's words, is like the trumpets giving *an uncertain ſound*; and when this is the caſe, who ſhall prepare himſelf to battle *.

Perſons who wiſh well to the peace and ſafety of their Country, when they have reaſon to think that there is ſomething amiſs in the management of public affairs; ſhould not carry their demands or requeſts too far; multiply grievances more than there is any real neceſſity for; interpret things of a doubtful nature in the worſt ſenſe; or peremptorily inſiſt upon ſome things; which there is little probability of being granted (if they do not relate to the eſſentials of government) leſt by this means nothing be done; as it may be ſuſpected that they have ſome other points in view beſides the public good.

The Roman hiſtorian gives us an account of ſome diſcontented Soldiers under one *Flaccus*, who aſked many things, not ſo much with a deſire, or any hopes of having their requeſts granted, as for a pretence, or excuſe for ſedition; and that the granting ſeveral things had no other effect, but that of making them more earneſtly demand

* 1 Cor. xiv. 8.

demands things, which they knew would be denied them *.

And here it may not be improper to take notice, that as *Liberty* is not ſafe under the patronage of the vicious, and irreligious, ſo neither is it at any time to be committed to the care or protection of bigots and enthuſiaſts; as they will be inclined to ſanctify any means, even ſedition and rebellion, out of a pretended regard to their love of Liberty, religion, the good of their Country, and the like. Many inſtances we meet with in hiſtory of the miſchiefs done by this dangerous kind of zeal we are ſpeaking of.

A wiſe ſtateſman ſpeaking of *popular diſcontents*, obſerves, "That there are ſome times "and ſeaſons when they prevail more than at "others, that when the fire of contention is "kindled, the misfortune often is, that both "ſides, or the different parties enflame it; that "the cauſe of the public is often laid aſide, and "nothing is purſued but the intereſt of the "factions." And he tells us, "that he can-"not leave this ſubject of popular *diſcontents*, "without bewailing how much and how often "our unfortunate Country has been infected "by them; and how they have ravaged and de-"faced the nobleſt *Iſland* in the world †," &c.

We may juſt obſerve, that when party contentions at any time run high, or a kingdom is in danger of being brought to *deſolation* by being

* Poſtulabant, nil ut aſſequerentur, ſed cauſam ſeditioni; et FLACCUS multa concedendo nil aliud effecerat, quàm ut acrius expoſcerent quæ ſciebant negaturum. TACIT. Hiſt. Lib. IV. S. 19.

† See Sir WIL. TEMPLE's Miſcellanies, Part 3. Eſſay the Firſt on *popular diſcontents*.

ing divided againſt *itſelf*, then is there great occaſion for the aſſiſtance of prudent, wiſe, and powerful mediators; true, and diſintereſted lovers of their Country, who can examine things without prejudice and partiality, avoiding all extremes; ſhewing their diſlike to oppreſſion on one hand, and licentiouſneſs on the other. Perſons of this character or diſpoſition are highly to be eſteemed, or to be looked upon as public bleſſings to their Country; and when at any time it wants their more immediate aſſiſtance, they ſhould not let their talents lie idle.

Even a wiſe Heathen of old obſerved, "That "all thoſe who gave their beſt aſſiſtance to help "and preſerve their Country would be bleſſed "for ever in heaven*." And again, as an encouragement to true *patriotiſm*, and as a mark of his boundleſs humanity, he declares, "That "perſons cannot by any means become more "like unto *God*, than by *contributing* as much "as they can to the ſafety and happineſs of "mankind†."

This extraordinary paſſion, which the old Romans entertained about promoting the good, the freedom, and proſperity of their Country; or the glory which they expected for heroic actions performed upon this account, ſeems to have ſuſpended in ſeveral of them the common feelings of nature; and made them regardleſs of the principles of ſelf-preſervation, as is evident from

a

* Omnibus qui patriam conſervarint, adjuverint, certum eſſe in cœlo definitum locum, ubi beati ævo ſempiterno fruantur. Vid. TULL. ſomn. ſcipionis.

† Homines enim ad Deos nullâ re propius accedunt, quàm *ſalutem* hominibus dando. CICER. Orat. pro Ligario.

a variety of accounts of this nature to be met with in their hiſtory §.

It will not be improper to take notice in general—that in a well regulated ſtate a *tumultuous* rabble, or what we call a *mob*, ſhould never be encouraged by any party in order to carry any point they have at heart; or bring about a reformation of any thing that may be thought amiſs; as this may be attended with very dangerous conſequences, and is a practice quite contrary to the laws of God and man, ſubverſive of all true Liberty and order, and often leading to rebellion. Amongſt ſuch aſſemblies there are generally great numbers both of ignorant and wicked perſons, who will therefore be inclined to run into all kind of licentiouſneſs, rather than promote the good of the public, or remove grievances; whatever their pretences may be, we can expect no advantage from their aſſiſtance. From the account we have of the Jewiſh mob at Theſſalonica, we find it conſiſted chiefly of *lewd fellows* of the *baſer ſort*, who ſet all the city in an uproar, and violently aſſaulted the houſes of ſome people, they were diſpleaſed with; and in another place we read, that the military power was found neceſſary for quelling ſome popular tumults or putting a ſtop to the violence of the multitude *.

As to the lower rank of people (of which our *mobs* generally conſiſt) we find that many of them are apt to rejoice in time of any public national contentions, hoping that by ſome means or other they ſhall be gainers thereby. A *levelling* principle

§ Vid. VAL. MAX. Lib. V. cap. 6. de pietate ergo patriam, ibid. cap. 8.

* See Act xvii. 5, &c. and xxi. 32. and xxiii. 7, &c.

ciple generally prevails amongſt them, when they have an opportunity or power of ſhewing it.

It requires then the aſſiſtance of wiſe and good men to put a ſtop, by the moſt prudent means, to thoſe kind of diſorders we are ſpeaking of, when they firſt appear; a tumultuous *rabble* may be compared to the *Hydra* or many headed monſter mentioned in the ancient heathen fables—The royal Pſalmiſt claſſes this violence, or *madneſs of the people*, with the *raging* of the ſea, and noiſe of the waves *, which were to be put a ſtop to by ſome *divine power*.

When any violent tempeſts ariſe in the civil ſtate, it is indeed the buſineſs and wiſdom of thoſe in authority to enquire into the occaſion of them; and uſe their beſt endeavours to correct and amend any thing that appears to be amiſs; or remove all reaſonable grounds of public complaints.

In a land of Liberty every man may with good reaſon expect to ſit under his own vine, and under his fig-tree, and that none ſhould make him afraid; or, as we commonly expreſs it, that every man's *houſe ſhould be his caſtle*; where, under the protection of the laws, he is to live in quietneſs and ſecurity. But how often do we find of late, that perſons have been deprived of this great privilege; or at leaſt put in great fears by riots and tumults? and what ſhocking accounts have we of this nature frequently from a neighbouring kingdom †.

It

* Pſalm lxv. 7.

† Viz. Ireland—committed by thoſe wicked and barbarous rioters called the *White Boys*, &c.

It may not be improper in the next place to take notice, that there are ſome perſons who would be looked upon as great friends to Liberty, that ſeem to judge of the ſtate of a nation by what they call the *voice of the people*; looking upon this as the *voice of God* *; and profeſſing that they are willing to ſubmit their own private opinions to it, or obey this voice. But if this be their real perſuaſion, or that they are willing to follow this direction implicitly, or without due examination, they will be very liable to fall into dangerous miſtakes, or a political kind of *enthuſiaſm*, which may be the occaſion of much public confuſion and diſorder—as was the caſe formerly in this nation, when this was adopted as a favourite maxim, and was abuſed to wrong or evil purpoſes.

But if perſons think that the *voice of the people* is a proper rule to act by, yet they ought to be particularly careful to know what the real voice of the people is; as it does not conſiſt in the ſhouts or acclamations of a multitude of people ſuddenly brought together upon any particular occaſion. Their voice is not to be relied on for the finding out the truth; it is alſo very variable, as perſons of this claſs often change their mind; ſo that they may be compared in one ſenſe to a *pendulum*, which ſoon ſwings from one extreme to another, or to the *weather-cock* prepared to turn with every prevailing blaſt of wind, let it come from what quarter of the heavens it will. So that the acclamations of a multitude (to what party ſoever it may belong) are generally rather to be conſidered as the *madneſs* of the people, than as the *voice of God.*

By

* According to that maxim *vox populi, vox Dei.*

By what has been ſaid here it is by no means intended that no regard is to be paid to the *general voice* of the *people*; it would be very wrong not to pay a proper attention to it.

But if the voice, or general ſenſe, of the people is to be regarded, (as it certainly ought to be) it may be aſked, How are we to come to the true knowledge of it? perhaps the ſureſt way of finding out what is the general *voice of the people* is from their *repreſentatives* in Parliament; they *are*, or at leaſt *ought to be* the beſt acquainted with the ſentiments, or opinions of their reſpective *conſtituents*, who are, in one ſenſe, properly to be looked upon as the *people*, or the more conſiderable or reſpectable part of that large *body*.

And when the people intruſted by the laws to ſend *repreſentatives* to that great aſſembly, deſigned to promote and eſtabliſh the public peace and welfare of the nation, and preſerve their rights and liberties; when they, I ſay, make choice of worthy and religious perſons for this purpoſe, or are careful to "provide out of all "the *people*, wiſe and able men, men of truth "and underſtanding, known amongſt them, "and ſuch as fear God *;" according to the directions given in ſcripture, where mention is made of perſons fit to be truſted with power and public authority; by this care they will diſtinguiſh themſelves from that *multitude* or rank of people we have been ſpeaking about; and their *voice*, may, upon this account, in one ſenſe properly be ſaid to be the *voice of God*, or what he approves of. And the perſons they make choice of (as we may reaſonably expect) will be always ready to liſten to their complaints,

* Exod. xviii. 21. Deut. i. 13.

plaints, plead their cauſe, and endeavour to redreſs, or remove in a legal manner any real grievances they may at any time labour under—and they certainly will be the beſt judges to diſcover when the Liberties of the people are in danger; and the propereſt perſons to ſecure them; ſo that according to the obſervation of king *Solomon*, "When the righteous are in autho-" rity, the people will rejoice"—" they will be " to *them* the *miniſter* of God *for good* *." When this is the caſe nothing can go much amiſs; the people ſhould then, I ſay, uſe their utmoſt endeavours to find out ſuch kind of worthy repreſentatives—ſo may we hope, that our prayers to God would be anſwered; when we aſk of him, " That all things may be ſo ordered and ſet-" led by their endeavours, upon the beſt and " ſureſt foundations, that peace and happineſs, " truth, and juſtice, religion, and piety, may " be eſtabliſhed amongſt us §."

As *civil Liberty* depends ſo much upon the choice, which the *people* make of their *repreſentatives* in Parliament, who are thereby inveſted with extraordinary power and authority, or become a part of the Legiſlature of the Britiſh empire—this is a ſubject, which it may not be improper in a treatiſe about *Liberty* to dwell a little longer upon—nor will it be amiſs briefly to point out ſome great abuſes in this affair. As obſervations of this kind may be of ſome future advantage.

It greatly concerns the people, I ſay, to enquire into the true character of thoſe whom they elect to this high truſt; or it is proper that they

* Prov. xxix. 2. Rom. xiii. 4.

§ Prayer for the High Court of Parliament.

they be perſons not only of large fortune (which will help to make them the more independent) but ſuch alſo as are likely to be influenced by the principles of true religion — and we may hope that upon enquiry there are ſufficient numbers to be met with, thus properly qualified for this important office, who would not refuſe to ſerve their Country.

We need not go about to prove how highly improper it muſt be to chooſe perſons to be law-makers, who have little regard themſelves to human or divine laws. By the laws of *Solon*, we find, "That men of debauched morals were "not even ſuffered to ſpeak in their public aſ-"ſemblies †." And we may juſt obſerve alſo, that perſons may *abound in eloquence*, and yet be very defective of true *wiſdom*, or in prudence and honeſty; and upon that account not proper to be repreſentatives of the people §.

The people by giving their voice for perſons of virtue and integrity to repreſent them, will not only thereby take the beſt means in their power to advance the public good, or the peace and happineſs of the nation; but they will alſo, as we may juſt take notice, give much pleaſure to our gracious Sovereign, who is the *father of his people*, and rejoices in their welfare and proſperity (as we have obſerved before) and it muſt indeed be highly offenſive to a prince who is himſelf eminent for his love of virtue and zeal for promoting the true intereſt of his people, if they themſelves make choice of ſuch repreſentatives as have little regard for religion and the public good.

† See the Life of SOLON by DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

§ SALLUST deſcribes the noted CATALINE as having *Satis eloquentiæ, ſapientiæ parum*, Vid. HACKII edit. p. 8.

I will here beg leave briefly to mention a few obſervations, I took the liberty of offering to the public at the laſt general election—in hopes that they might be of ſome little uſe in promoting the public good, and help to put a ſtop to *party* differences and diſtinctions.—I took notice, in the firſt place, how very neceſſary it was that the electors throughout the kingdom ſhould *freely* make choice of the moſt worthy perſons they could meet with for the important truſt of being their Repreſentatives in Parliament, who were to have the chief hand in forming our laws, and preſerving our rights and liberties; and that as the lower claſs of *Electors* generally agree to the choice or nomination made by thoſe of ſuperior rank and fortune; they ſhould be therefore particularly careful to point out, or provide out of *all the people*, ſuch perſons as are moſt proper to ſerve their Country.

I obſerved that amongſt a number of wiſe and religious perſons aſſembled together in Parliament to conſult and determine about the affairs of the nation, there is great reaſon to hope that there would be no violent diſputes, or fierce oppoſition, and laſting differences in opinion; but that after ſome friendly debates they would agree in ſettling things upon the beſt and ſureſt foundations; ſo that all due honour and obedience ſhould be paid to the king, and his people be ſecured in their legal rights and liberties.

That as our party names and diſtinctions had their riſe formerly, when the nation was in an unſettled ſtate; but as all parties are now agreed in their *loyalty* to our moſt gracious Sovereign placed upon the throne of theſe kingdoms, and have alſo an equal regard to our laws and liberties, the caſe at preſent is much altered; or the cauſes

of

of our former differences are in a great measure removed. We ought therefore all of us *jointly* to seek the welfare of the community or kingdom to which we belong; study to dwell together in unity; avoid unnecessary *questions*, or all violent disputes in defence of any *particular party*; as there seems to be no real foundation for them; but they rather appear to be founded on prejudice, ignorance, self-interest, or the like motives *. Upon this account, I ventured to declare, "That a truly wise and good man could "not (properly speaking) be of a *wrong party*;" my meaning is, that such a one, supposing him to be chosen a *representative* for the people in Parliament will be always disposed to advance *the real* good of his Country; and preserve our constitution in its true state. If it be objected to what has been said, "That it is necessary to en-"quire into his *political*, as well as his *religious* "principles; seeing *Papists*, or *republicans* may "be religious good men, and yet enemies to our "Constitution; and by no means proper to be "trusted with power or authority in the state:" To such like remarks, I would answer, that I am speaking of those who are under strict engagements to defend or preserve our present Constitution, laws, and liberties; and have taken the oaths of *allegiance* and supremacy to his present Majesty. If then they fail in any of the plain parts of their duty, go contrary to the solemn obligations they are under, or are biassed by partiality to any particular persons or party, by self-interest, and the like; they then cease

* The parties in King WILLIAM and Queen ANN's reigns differed in some essential points, viz. that of *allegiance*, (See Bishop BURNET's History of his own times, Vol. II.) which is not the case *now*.

to be amongſt the number of the wiſe and virtuous whom I am here recommending.

In regard to *parties*, an eminent writer tells us, " That one chief deſign of his hiſtory was " to give ſuch a diſcovery of the exceſſes and " follies of *parties*, as to make the next age " *wiſer*, by what he ſhould tell them of the laſt*."

Give me leave now juſt to mention how highly blameable many of the people are in this affair of elections, and how little regard they have about ſecuring their *civil* liberties, or the public good of their Country; we need not be at much pains in ſhewing; (as I obſerved) in the paper before referred to, how highly unreaſonable it is, that perſons in order to be choſen guardians of our *liberties*, or preſervers of our rights, ſhould frequently be put to an immenſe expence in obtaining this *power*; or that for ſecuring the *property* of others, they ſhould often waſte or impair their *own*. Another great misfortune which attends this practice is, that a great part of the money expended this way is ſo far from being of any real benefit to the community, that it is generally the occaſion of much idleneſs, exceſs, irregularity, and *impiety*, and directly oppoſes ſome of the petitions which we offer up for the High court of Parliament.

And they who are deſirous of putting their repreſentatives to all the expence they can, or are quite careleſs about the characters of thoſe they make choice of, are ſcarce indeed fit to be truſted with the privileges they enjoy; and if the affairs of the public be at any time conducted not ſo well as they could *wiſh*, they cannot with much reaſon find fault; nor with any great propriety give their repreſentatives *inſtructions* for their

* See Biſhop BURNET's concluſion of the Hiſtory of his own time, p. 633.

their behaviour in the *houſe*. As to thoſe who take money, or bribes for their *votes*, they ſhould, by way of puniſhment at leaſt, never be permitted to vote again upon ſuch public occaſions. Beſides, the guilt of perjury often occaſioned by *bribery*, is a very crying ſin, and if it ſhould prevail is enough to make the affairs of the nation go wrong, or bring down ſome public judgments upon it.

And as to thoſe who have purchaſed the votes of the people at a very high rate, or have been at an extravagant expence in getting a ſeat in the houſe of parliament; could it be any great wonder if ſome of them ſhould be tempted to *ſell*, or give up the *liberties* of their country, which they are intruſted with (if it can be ſuppoſed that at any time there ſhould be an opportunity of doing it) or comply with any meaſures propoſed in order to reimburſe themſelves again? They might, I ſay, be induced to act in this manner if they had no more honour, or honeſty, than ſeveral of their mercenary *Conſtituents*.

I will here (with due ſubmiſſion to perſons of better judgment) take the opportunity of mentioning an alteration which might (without any injuſtice) be made in our public elections; and which would prevent a great deal of confuſion, diſorder, and unneceſſary expence.—I mean reducing the number of the *electors*.

In the reign of King Henry the Sixth, an act of Parliament was paſſed, wherein no perſons ſhould have votes for members of parliament, but thoſe who were poſſeſſed of a freehold eſtate of *forty ſhillings* a year. This was a ſum at that time (or about three hundred years ago) of conſiderable value in regard to what it now is, ow-

ing to the much greater plenty of money, or its increaſe ſince that time. A perſon who had then an eſtate of forty ſhillings a year was reckoned a ſubſtantial *freeholder*, or might live on his own freehold in a ſtate of independence. It might perhaps be as valuable at that time as thirty pounds a year, or more, now is *.

But a perſon who has at preſent only an eſtate of forty ſhillings a year, is in a poor or low condition; and cannot afford to looſe a day from his common employment to give his vote at a public election, or be at any expence upon this account—nay, he generally complains very much if he is not paid, or receives ſome recompenſe for his trouble—and imagines that he does a particular piece of ſervice to the gentleman he gives his vote for—and that he has therefore a kind of right to put him to all the expence he can; imagining alſo that he muſt have ſome conſiderable advantage by the office he is elected to, or elſe he would never be at ſo much trouble, or ſpend ſuch large ſums in attaining it.—Not conſidering that the repreſentatives of the people, by beſtowing a great part of their time in the ſervice of their country, and putting themſelves to much expence by their due attendance in parliament, lay their conſtituents under great obligations to them.—So that upon this account the electors ſhould in reaſon and equity contribute

* See Biſhop FLEETWOOD's *Chronicon preciofum*, or an account of the value of Money and price of Corn for 600 years laſt paſt. Lord LITTLETON's hiſtory of King HENRY II Vol. I. p. 401. oct. edit. where he treats of the proportion which the value of Silver bore in ancient times to the common value of it at preſent—and alſo Vol. III. p. 88.—and particularly Mr YOUNG's *political Arithmetic*, 1774. Appendix N° xi. Where he makes remarks upon what theſe two writers had ſaid.

bute to the expences of their repreſentatives, as was the cuſtom in former days. And indeed how very ſtrange would it appear in any other caſe, if I ſhould expect that a perſon, who is going to be at a great deal of trouble to do me a particular favour, ſhould fee, or give me a reward for permiſſion to do this, or to promote my intereſt?

If perſons then, I ſay, were to contribute to the expence their repreſentatives are at, whilſt they are attending Parliament, great numbers of the lower rank would be glad to give up their claims; and indeed they cannot much want *repreſentatives* to take care of their affairs; at leaſt they may ſafely leave it to others of better fortunes, who will not only be careful for their own ſake to make a proper choice, but can alſo afford to be at any neceſſary expence that may be properly required.

There are many now qualified by the bare *letter* of the law to give their votes in elections for repreſentatives in Parliament; yet it is very evident, that the ſpirit or original intention of the law is againſt them. Now if ſome proper regulation was made in this reſpect, or things were brought nearer their original ſtandard, it could not be looked upon as depriving perſons of ancient rights and privileges, or endangering our *liberties*—but it would be the means of preventing a great deal of bribery and corruption, drunkenneſs and exceſs in the lower rank of people (which we have ſeen a great deal too much of in ſome of our late elections) and would help to preſerve their morals.—They would not then be taken off ſo much as they now are, from their neceſſary trades and employments; ſo that upon the whole it would be the better for themſelves,

ſelves, their families, and for public ſociety; and be no infringement of our Conſtitution. This inſatiable deſire, which appears in ſeveral of the lower claſs of electors, and their friends they often bring with them, of indulging themſelves in all manner of exceſs; and their ſtudy to put the candidates to all the expence they can, and the pleaſure they ſeem to take in having an opportunity of doing ſo, muſt make every ſober thinking perſon look upon them as improper conſtituents for the choice of worthy repreſentatives; and wiſh for ſome proper regulations in order to remove ſome of thoſe diſorders we are ſpeaking of.

And though any great changes or alterations of the cuſtoms which the people have been uſed to may be attended with ſome difficulty; yet this is no reaſon why they ſhould not be made upon ſome proper occaſions; eſpecially in ſuch caſes as we are here ſpeaking about, where they are only deſigned as reformations or amendments in order to bring things nearer to their original deſign, and to promote public peace and order without doing a real injury to any one.

This is a point which cannot well be looked upon as a party affair; but thoſe of both parties, who ſtudy the real *benefit* and peace of ſociety, one might think would cordially join in it; ſo that it only wants to be propoſed in the *houſe* by ſome perſon of note, and it could ſcarce fail of meeting with ſucceſs; if ſet about at ſome proper ſeaſon.

I am not indeed for carrying the qualification ſo high as it was originally; ſuppoſing it was now to be only *ten pounds* a year; or the ſame that qualifies a perſon to be upon the *petty-jury*; this

this might anſwer ſeveral of the good purpoſes we have been ſpeaking of, or prevent many diſorders in ſociety.—And ten pounds, as we obſerved, is only about the third part of the eſtate which was required by the original act of parliament.—So that if there was nothing amiſs at the firſt in limiting the ſum, there can be nothing wrong in doing the ſame now; and if the ſum mentioned was fixed on, the *electors* would ſtill be much more numerous than when the act firſt paſſed.

I hope I ſhall be pardoned for this *digreſſion*; I was led to it purely as thinking that the plan here offered, if it could be executed, would be attended with ſeveral beneficial conſequences without having the leaſt ill will to the perſons to be excluded, as they are all uſeful and valuable members of ſociety in their reſpective ſtations and employments.—This reformation of the law would prevent a great deal of loſs of time and health; much exceſs, and intemperance amongſt the lower rank of people; cut off the chief occaſion for *bribery*. And as the candidates would not be at much expence, it would encourage many worthy perſons more readily to offer their ſervice to the public.

I ſhall but mention one thing more relating to the *people* (as it concerns their *Liberties*) and I have done.

Some writers amongſt us of late in treating about government or *civil* Liberty have taken a great deal of pains in ſetting before the *people* what they call their *original* and *unalienable rights* in this caſe, putting them in mind of the power they have to relieve themſelves under any hardſhips, or ſeeming oppreſſions; of taking,

as

as it were, things again into *their own hands*, or reaſſuming that power which they *originally had*—and much more to the ſame purpoſe. It may be proper to obſerve, that thoſe perſons, who, by their great, or rather unguarded zeal for the cauſe of *Liberty* (though a good one in itſelf) may probably give encouragement to ſeditious practices, or dangerous *licentiouſneſs*. As the people (according to what they tell them) are thus left to themſelves to judge when ſuch a time is arrived; or when it is fit to exert their power or authority, (they think themſelves inveſted with) in order to remove what they look upon as *grievances*; it is to be feared that partiality, or ſelf intereſt will too often prevail; or that they will be frequently miſled by ignorance and want of true judgment to determine what is right or wrong. And the *Liberty* that many will be deſirous of, is that of having *power* in their own hands, to be exerciſed upon every ſlight, or unneceſſary occaſion. It will, I ſay, be carrying things to a very dangerous height, to intimate to the *people*, (as ſome ſeem to have done of late) "That they may refuſe obedience "to the demands of thoſe placed in public au- "thority; or oppoſe the *legiſlature* upon account "of what they judge to be grievances."—Now the things found fault with may be perhaps often of a diſputable nature, where the *deciſion* is attended with a good deal of difficulty; or perſons in authority may be ſometimes miſtaken in their judgment, and fall into errors; or act amiſs without any deſigned violation of the rights of the people—in ſuch like caſes we muſt apply to the proper courts of judicature for redreſs; and ſuch there are for all kind of offenders, even thoſe of the *higheſt rank*.

We may juſt farther obſerve; that when ſome who look upon themſelves as *patrons* of Liberty, are diſappointed of their deſigns in reforming what they think much amiſs in the State, and declare, "That they can *now* expect no redreſs "but from the *people*; that the *people* muſt take "up the defence of their own cauſe," and the like: this is the way to throw all things into confuſion, and bring on the horrible deſolation of a civil war, which this nation has had ſufficient experience of already. And we may alſo take notice, that what ſome call "*The ſhort lived anarchy of the populace*," (which is to be encouraged, they ſay, on ſome occaſions to remove public grievances) may laſt much too long to counterbalance any advantages, that they can well expect from it; ſo that according to the uſual obſervation, the "Remedy may prove "much worſe than the diſeaſe."

Without making enquiries about the nature of *original contracts* between the king and people; whether they be real, or only imaginary; or without pretending to determine preciſely which party is in the right in ſeveral of our public diſputes, I ſhall only venture to offer a few plain directions; which I hope will be generally allowed, as uſeful for preſerving peace and order in the State. We have juſt before obſerved, who, or what perſons may be properly reckoned the *people*, whoſe voice or opinion is chiefly to be attended to—and that it is in the firſt place their buſineſs to make choice of the moſt worthy perſons they can meet with to repreſent them in Parliament, and that this would be the likelieſt means to prevent any great diſorders in the public affairs of the nation.

We are to look then for redreſs of grievances in a parliamentary or legal way.

It was, we are told, the conſtant principle of an eminent perſon (remarkable for his love of civil Liberty) "That reſiſtance was not lawful "even on account of ſingle acts of injuſtice or "oppreſſion, unleſs the very baſis of the conſti-"tution was ſtruck at †," as was the caſe at the *Revolution*.

In treating about the ſubject concerning *Liberty*, it may not be improper to take notice of ſome things formerly advanced by an eminent writer on this point in an *Eſſay on civil government*; whoſe words and arguments are made uſe of by many in our preſent diſputes. After he had been ſpeaking of the rights of the people, and the lawfulneſs of oppoſing legiſlatures, acting contrary to the ends for which they were conſtituted; and declaring that the people were abſolved from obedience, when illegal attempts were made upon their liberties and properties; and that they may oppoſe the unlawful violence of thoſe who are their magiſtrates, when they invade their properties contrary to the truſt put into their hands, &c. he then proceeds to take notice of the objections that may be made to this doctrine, namely, "That ſome may ſay it will "be the occaſion of civil wars and inteſtine "broils; and therefore not to be allowed of, as "being ſo deſtructive to the peace of the world." To this our author replies, "That perſons may "as well ſay upon the ſame grounds, that ho-"neſt men may not oppoſe robbers and pirates; "becauſe this may occaſion diſorder and blood-"ſhed; but if any miſchief come in ſuch caſes, "it is not to be charged upon him who defends "his

† Viz. Biſhop BURNET, ſee his Life at the concluſion of his 2d Vol. of the Hiſtory of his own time, p. 691.

" his own right, but upon him that invades his " neighbour's §," &c. Now with deference and due regard to the opinion of ſo judicious a writer, and without the leaſt intention of giving any encouragement to encroachments on the *rights* of the people; or to arbitrary power, and the doctrine of paſſive obedience—It may be juſt obſerved, in order to prevent any miſtakes in the application of the argument here made uſe of, (which was the occaſion of my mentioning this paſſage) that we may indeed immediately reſiſt a *thief*, or a *robber*, as not being under the leaſt doubt, but that his intentions are illegal, unjuſt, and wicked; but in diſputes between the people and their governors about rights and privileges, ſeveral difficulties may ariſe; the people may ſometimes be under miſtakes, as well as their rulers; or much may be alledged on both ſides in their own defence. So that the hardſhips muſt be very great and very evidently contrary to the laws, before the people are to go to extremities, or oppoſe perſons in power and authority, as they would do *thieves* and *robbers*; or before they can think themſelves juſtified in their open reſiſtance, or take up arms in their defence. They muſt remember the chriſtian duty of proper ſubmiſſion to the King as ſupreme, and unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him—and be very cautious that they uſe not their Liberty for a cloak of *maliciouſneſs*, as has been obſerved, but as the ſervants of God; or deſirous to pay a willing obedience to his commands.

The behaviour of the people towards thoſe that are placed over them ſhould be ſomething like

§ Eſſay concerning the true origin, extent, and end of civil government, *London* 1664. Book II. Chap. xix.—Of the diſſolution of government.

like that of children to their parents; and the fifth commandment has been generally underſtood as implying that *honour* and due ſubmiſſion, which belongs to thoſe who are placed in authority over us. Dutiful children are with prudence and gentleneſs to argue with their parents, or remonſtrate againſt their behaviour when it ſeems to be wrong; and bear more from them than they would do from any other perſons; they are to wait with patience in hopes that there may be ſome alteration for the better, and not directly oppoſe their commands and authority; but only where the injuries and hardſhips they ſuffer are very evident; or of ſuch a nature as in a manner to deſtroy the relation between parents and children; and they cannot even at laſt proceed to this extremity without great reluctance.

If indeed kings, or thoſe in ſupreme authority, are evidently and undeniably diſpenſing with, and ſetting aſide the plain laws of their Country, ſubverting the State, deſtroying the Conſtitution by arbitrary power and tyrannical oppreſſion—in ſuch like caſes, I ſuppoſe, moſt perſons will think alike in what manner they are to behave themſelves. And this danger may in moſt caſes be foreſeen and prevented, before a total ſubverſion of government takes place.

Oppoſition or reſiſtance will then not be looked upon as *ſedition*, or rebellion, but a kind of neceſſary *ſelf-defence*, and ſtanding up for preſerving their natural and legal rights.

In an account lately given us of the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of king *James*, which brought on the revolution, the author obſerves, "That upon this occaſion the two powerful and "oppoſite parties then in the nation (or what were

"called

" called *Whigs* and *Tories*) diſcovered they had " differed not ſo much about the *right to reſiſt*, " as about the degree of provocation which juſ- " tified reſiſtance."—And from the papers which this writer has offered to the public, it will appear, as he declares, " That the revolution was not a " work of expediency only, but of obſolute ne- " ceſſity, and that all *parties* alike united in the " great and generous effort to ſave that excellent " conſtitution, which by their dangers we *enjoy*‖."

And we are alſo told, that many of the nobility and gentry declared at the time of the *revolution*, that they did indeed own it to be *rebellion* to reſiſt a king governing by law, but not to reſiſt a tyrant, who made his will his law.—And at that time reſiſtance took place, or was authorized, as it were, by general conſent, as being a thing neceſſary for the public good, and was not the work of a particular *party* only §.

An *aſſociation* was then ſigned by a great number of the princip l perſons in the nation; and he who drew it up (and who was himſelf a leading perſon in the *revolution*) informs us how neceſſary it was looked upon to do ſo by all who were friends to *Liberty* and adherents to the Prince of *Orange*, then juſt landed in England—as by this means they would reckon themſelves bound to ſtick one to another, otherwiſe they would be only as a *rope of ſand*; and being under no tie might leave the *party* when they pleaſed †.

We

‖ See Sir JOSEPH DALRYMPLE's Memoirs of Great Britain, &c. Part I. Book IV, and V. p. 193, *London*, 1771—and Vol. II. 1774—Preface and p. 257.

§ See Introduction to the Letters of Lady R. RUSSEL, publiſhed in 1774.

† See the account as given in Biſhop BURNET's Hiſtory of *his own times*, Vol. I. p 775—792. and the heads of the Prince's declaration.

We may hope, that as our conſtitution was built on ſuch good foundations at the *revolution*, that there never will again be a real neceſſity for ſuch a kind of an *aſſociation*. At preſent we have the happineſs to find the Sovereign of theſe kingdoms expreſsly declaring how very deſirous he is to preſerve the rights and *Liberty* of his people. And it would (as we have obſerved) be very unaccountable, that any of thoſe placed in authority under him, ſhould endeavour to put a yoke upon the people, which they themſelves would be in danger of wearing. There can be no temptation to promote arbitrary government under a prince who has an averſion to it.

This ſtate of things at the *revolution*, the writer before referred to had, we muſt ſuppoſe, chiefly in view in his *eſſay on civil government*—but this is a caſe which we hope will very rarely happen; and the ſame kind of arguments uſed at that time are not to be applied on all occaſions; or upon account of any ſmaller errors in government; or about ſome points where the laws are not clear and expreſs. It requires certainly the greateſt care, prudence, and judgment, or the advice of the wiſeſt and beſt part of the community to know when the ends of civil government are ſo far deſtroyed as to put in force the following maxim, namely, "*That the ſafety of the peo-*" *ple* muſt be looked upon as the ſupreme law *."

The judicious defender of *civil* Liberty (before mentioned) declares, "Whoever, either *ru-*" *ler* or *ſubject*, by force goes about to invade the " rights of either prince, or people; and lays the " foundation of overturning the conſtitution and " frame of any juſt government, he is guilty of " the

* Salus populi *ſuprema lex*.

" the greateſt crime, I think, a man is capable " of; being to anſwer for all thoſe miſchiefs of " blood, rapine, and deſolation, which the break- " ing to pieces of government brings on a Coun- " try; and he who does it, is juſtly to be eſteem- " ed the common enemy and peſt of man- " kind, and is to be treated accordingly *."

An eminent writer, ſpeaking about the nature of our civil Conſtitution or Government (as it was ſome ages ago) obſerves, that the diſpenſing with laws began no earlier than the reign of *Henry* the Third, and when King *Richard* the Second (in the century following) declared (as we are told he did) " That the law was in his mouth, " that he himſelf alone could make or change " the laws of his kingdom," and the like— " He then totally departed from all the notions " of the ancient *Conſtitution*, as our author ob- " ſerves, and by acting upon ſuch principles, " he diſſolved the bonds of allegiance, and de- " poſed himſelf §."

But theſe are points which I have not room here to ſay any more about. I ſhall only obſerve in general, that the beſt and moſt effectual means to prevent dangerous diſorders in the State, or to preſerve the peace and welfare of the nation is by the help and power of religion, or letting it have a due influence on the minds of thoſe who are to rule, and thoſe who are to obey. When this is the caſe, no *parties*, or civil diviſions can ever run to any great or dangerous height. A ready compliance will be paid to the injunctions of lawful authority; and perſons will

* Eſſay on Civil Government, Chap. xix. §. 230.

§ Lord LITTLETON's Life of HENRY the II. Book II. Vol. III. oct. edit. p. 235, and p. 451 in the *notes*.

be under very little uneasiness, or fear of losing their liberties or being governed contrary to law.

In a religious nation all things will conspire to make it happy; "Mercy and truth will meet "together, righteousness and peace will em- "brace each other," according to the Psalmist's representation, and "the Lord will be *favourable* "to the land, grant his *salvation*, or protection "to the people; and give *them that which is* "*good*; or pour down his blessings upon them ‖." Whereas in a corrupt or wicked kingdom, "Va- "riance, emulation, strife, sedition, and the "like disorders will abound†." Persons will also be inclined to "*despise dominion*, and speak "evil of dignities §," and *Liberty* will be turned into licentiousness.

As a punishment for their neglect and contempt of religion, God may suffer them to fall under a dangerous infatuation, so as to have those things hid from their eyes, which belong to *their peace*; as our Saviour expresses it, when he wept over *Jerusalem* upon account of its approaching destruction *.

God, to shew his displeasure against the wicked, may be sometimes provoked to turn *their counsel* into *foolishness*, according to *David*'s prayer concerning *Ahitophel*, who had with *Absalom* entered into a conspiracy against him††. And when king *Rehoboam* rejected the wise advice that was given him, and followed some other pernicious counsels, we are told—*That the cause was from the Lord* **.

It was an opinion embraced by the heathens of old, "That whom the gods had a mind to destroy,

‖ See Psal. lxxxv. † Gal. v. 20, &c.
§ Jude 8. * Luke xix. 41.
†† 2 Sam. xv. 31. ** 1 Kings xii. 15.

" deſtroy, they firſt infatuated §;" and that when they had *determined* any thing againſt a nation, all *ſalutary* admonitions were deſpiſed by the people. *Homer* mentions ſeveral inſtances, where (according to his opinion) the gods by way of puniſhment had deprived perſons of their wiſdom and underſtanding; ſo that they followed ſome very wrong advice that was given them ‖.

It will be alſo neceſſary here juſt to obſerve, that " As God is governor amongſt the nations, " and ruleth to the ends of the earth — ſetteth " the bounds of the people and divideth to them " their inheritance," as the ſcripture aſſures us *, ſo alſo hath he there promiſed to bleſs a religious people with ſucceſs, with enlargement of dominion and power; and the advantage or privilege of reigning over many nations—ſo on the other hand he has declared—" That at what in- " ſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a nation, and " concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant " it; if it do evil in my ſight, that it obey not " my voice, then will I repent of the good " wherewith I ſhould benefit them †."

They then, who by their own good example, advice, and authority endeavour to remove, or put a ſtop to any of the prevailing vices and diſorders that tend to deſtroy the public happineſs, or ſafety of the nation; muſt be looked upon as the beſt *patriots*, or benefactors; and worthy of the higheſt eſteem.

§ Quos JUPITER vult perdere prius dementat.

‖ See ROLLIN on the Belles Lettres, Vol. I.—Of the reading of HOMER, Art. III. Of the gods and Religion. — and LIVY, we find, declares, Fatis urgentibus, omnia ſalutaria monita ſpernuntur.

* Pſal. xxii. 28. and lix. 13. Deut. xxxii. 8.

† Deut. xv. 6. Jer. xviii. 9.

In ſhort, religion (or the general practice of it in a nation) may be looked upon as the grand *panacea* (in regard to the *civil* or political body) or an univerſal medicine, effectual to prevent or cure all its diſeaſes. And it is our chief intereſt to wiſh, and alſo uſe our beſt endeavours, that no *party* ſhould ſo far prevail in the nation (ſo as to direct its public affairs) but the party of the wiſe, the good and virtuous; and then things can never go much amiſs. Then would there be a juſt ballance always kept between the prerogative of the crown, and the rights of the people, and the nation would be governed as one large and well regulated family; a particular regard be had to every branch of it; and our party diſputes would happily be at an end.

If it be objected to what has been ſaid here about *religion*, that I have been talking to little purpoſe; or that a ſcheme of this nature cannot well be expected to take place, ſo as to be of any preſent ſervice; and that it is of little uſe to give directions, which are not likely to be followed; or that there is no ſuch a thing as making the people in general virtuous and religious, &c. we may then as poſitively affirm that there is no ſuch a thing as preventing the ruin of a nation; ſeeing that without virtue and religion all other helps from human laws, or the fear of puniſhment, will not be effectual for this purpoſe. To advance the cauſe of religion, ſhould then, I ſay, be attempted in good earneſt by all who have a regard for the honour of God, their own true intereſt, and the good of their Country.

The general prevalency of wickedneſs can be no ſufficient excuſe for any perſons (let their ſtate or condition in life be what it will) for the

the neglect of their duty, or the continuance in any evil practices—"God has not given to any "man licence to ſin *.

Let us hear what a learned heathen of old ſays about the neceſſity there is for a man to live virtuouſly even in the worſt of times. Having mentioned ſome of the great maſters in painting, ſtatuary, and muſic; he then obſerves, "that a good man may *own* without any ſhame "or reproach to his character, his ignorance in "theſe, and the like arts; or that he does not "think it neceſſary to excel in them. But a *good* "*life* is a buſineſs which equally concerns every "one: for this reaſon, ſays he, no perſon will dare "to make the following declaration, namely, I "know not how to live virtuouſly, as *Socrates*, "*Plato*, and *Pythagoras* lived, nor am I aſhamed "of my ignorance in this caſe †," &c.

Now Chriſtians are ſurely under greater obligations than the heathens, "to abhor that which "is evil, cleave to that which is good, and ap-"prove *things that are excellent*." And every one who ſets about it in good earneſt, may be good and religious, let the times he lives in be ever ſo bad.

As to the proper means of advancing the cauſe of religion, or bringing about a national reformation, how it may be the beſt done, and the neceſſity there is of doing it, (from conſidering the dangerous nature of ſin, and how deſtructive it has been to many *ſtates* and kingdoms, as appear evidently from both ancient and modern hiſtory) what the ſtate of our nation is with regard to religion; together with a particular enquiry concerning the ſeveral undeniable proofs we have of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, (in order to re-

* Eccles. xv. 20.

† Vid. APULEII opera, Lib. IV. de deo SOCRATIS—this writer lived in the reign of MARCUS AURELIUS.

remove the dangerous progress of wickedness and infidelity; and invite persons heartily to embrace the great *salvation* offered in the gospel) — these are matters of great importance, both upon a private and public account, and deserve to be considered at large *.

I shall not at present detain the reader any longer; and I beg that he will look upon what is here offered, as proceeding from no other motive than an earnest desire of promoting public peace and agreement, and the increase of religion; that if he finds any mistakes, he will not be too severe in his censures upon account of the good intention of the author; and that, if he has any thing to offer more likely to promote the publick good, he would be pleased to impart it † now, at a time when the best assistance of all wise and good men is so much wanted.

* I have at different times made a great many observations upon all these points, which I may perhaps offer to the public, as a means to advance the cause of religion, and the good of society; if not prevented by death, or the infirmities of old age, as I am now got beyond the first bounderies of human life, mentioned by the Psalmist, *Psal.* xc.

† Si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti. Hor.

FINIS.